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# •NUCLEAR• TIMES



WILPF'S Mary Zepernick,  
Dawn Jones & Donna Cooper

**Exploding Myths:  
Women and the  
Movement**



LETTERS

## The War At Home

I'd like to express my full support and admiration for Herbert Sussan's long-term efforts to convey something of the realities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the public ("Why the Bomb Didn't Hit Home," March '83).

I would like to refer readers to the newsletter from the Committee for U.S. Veterans of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (PO Box 42384, Portland, OR 97242). I would also like to refer them to the first chapter of a book I co-authored, *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience With Atomic Radiation*, which focuses on later health problems of U.S. servicemen who arrived in Nagasaki in late September 1945 in the core area of the city for clean-up assignments.

—Norman Solomon  
Portland, Ore.

## Final Draft

The Selective Service System is not the only federal agency which "has not yet classified its nuclear emergency plan," as Michael Abeshouse writes ("Doomsday Draft," Feb. '83). The System is but one of many federal agencies which quite simply lacks the power to classify documents. Until that is altered by statute or presidential order its emergency plan will never be classified.

Secondly, President Reagan did not cite 33 federal departments and agencies having "essential uninterrupted national functions" back in 1981 as your article states. The reference to the number 33 came from a secret State Department

Arms Control Impact Analysis on Civil Defense quoted at length in my *Washingtonian* article [on this subject]. To the contrary, the Selective Service System's own plan cites Executive Order 11490 as requiring the agency to develop "procedures for continuity of operations under emergency conditions." That order was issued not by President Reagan in 1981, but by former President Richard Nixon on October 28, 1969. The System's emergency plan has been in existence since shortly after the executive order was issued and was only recently and routinely updated by officials.

—Howard L. Rosenberg  
Silver Springs, Md.

## Meddling Prophets?

The magazine has been consistently intelligent and comprehensive. Keep it up.

I appreciate the respect given to the peace movement within the various faith communities (Feb. '83). I sometimes wonder, however, if our other teachings are held in such high regard. The Spirit guiding us to offer guidance in nuclear issues is the same Spirit leading us to speak out in other life and human dignity causes. It would be curious if we're prophets in the one and meddling old men in the others.

Be that as it may, the urgency of the nuclear threat is such that we must all work together on it with courage and commitment.

—L.T. Matthiesen  
Bishop of Amarillo  
Amarillo, Texas

## Freeze Folly

I was disappointed in the report on the freeze conference ("Freeze Sets Daring Strategy," March '83). *What* are they doing to reach the voting public, to change the vicious "enemy thinking" that motivates the administration and too many voters? If the freeze becomes just another special interest group, it will be defeated by a stronger special interest group—that of the president and the far-right-military. That group has the inside track and is very busy getting itself before the public and getting itself on radio opinion programs. Is the freeze movement doing anything about that, or is it trusting its own strength to convince our lawmakers?

—Rachael Perkins  
San Francisco, Cal.

## Correction

The editors made two changes in my April column that make me appear, in one instance, historically ignorant and, in the other, ungenerous. I'd like to correct these impressions for the record.

First, the ABM was defeated in 1972 not "by Congress," but by the ABM Treaty. Second, some of the information about "purple plague" was taken not from "recent reports" but—as my original manuscript indicated—from one article: Jonathan Marshall's in the March *Inquiry*.

—Fred Kaplan  
Washington, D.C.

## CONTENTS

### EARLY WARNINGS.....3

### NATIONAL.....7

The peace movement takes its own look at the "Reds" issue. Anti-MX protests. An antinuclear movement in the military?

### COVER.....13

Women and the Movement: Are they be-

ing taken seriously? And looking on as the first U.S. women's peace camp takes shape.

### INTERNATIONAL.....20

An interview with two women from Greenham Common, and a report on the Easter Weekend protests.

### WASHINGTON REPORT.....24

By Fred Kaplan

### FORUM.....25

Interview with Seymour Melman

### MEDIA WATCH.....27

By Robert Friedman

### RESOURCES.....28

By Ann Marie Cunningham

### CALENDAR.....29

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# • EARLY WARNINGS •

**ON A FAST TRACK:** If the arms race is not stopped by this summer, four peace activists will begin what they call a "fast for life" and what others have termed a "fast to death." On August 6 Dorothy Granada, Charles Gray, Solange Fernex and Didier Mainguy will begin an "open-ended fast" to link the issue of world hunger to the arms race, according to Granada, a peace activist in San Francisco. "We will fast until there is a definite move toward stopping the arms race," she says. Granada explains that this "turning around" could be indicated by NATO withdrawing its plans to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles, a country refusing these missiles, or the adoption of a unilateral or bilateral freeze by one of the superpowers.

To support their action, the fasters have lined up a number of antinuclear activists as endorsers, including Helen Caldicott, Daniel Berrigan and Bishop Thomas Gumbleton. According to Granada, Robert Aldridge and Daniel Ellsberg are acting as advisers.

"Our goal is not martyrdom," she says. "Our goal is to wake people up to the crisis. It's a life-risking fast. But we're trying to be positive. We believe we will see the beginning of the end of the arms race in the 60 to 70 days we can stay alive."

**SIGHTING EUROMISSILES:** When the Euromissiles Working Group, a coalition of 12 peace organizations, held organizing seminars in 19 cities across the nation in March and April, it completed an initial step in its campaign to prevent the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. These seminars, which were not aimed at the general public but rather at movement organizers, had the dual purpose of disseminating information on the Euromissiles to the grass roots and encouraging local activities aimed at protesting deployment, according to Bruce Cronin, disarmament coordinator for Mobilization for Survival (MFS), one of the members of the coalition.

"In terms of results, we're looking for a network to be established and regional strategies planned," he says. "We want these organizers to go back to their communities and set up teach-ins and rallies." The seminars also focused on "National Disarmament Action Day," June 20, when civil disobedience actions are scheduled to be held nationwide at nuclear weapons facilities, corporations and banks involved in weapons production, embassies of those countries scheduled to receive the Euromissiles, and other institutions involved in arms production. The

protest has been called by MFS and the Livermore Action Group, which are asking for local organizers to adopt the theme "No First Use, Stop the Cruise and Pershing Missiles."

The June 20 action is the first in a series of scheduled national protests against the Euromissiles. The Working Group is now planning events for Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days, August 6-9, and for some time in October.

vinced of their authenticity," Satcher says, "and outraged that BART would post them. We found signs covered with antinuclear graffiti. Others thought that it was considerate of FEMA to tell them what to do when the Bomb hits." And FEMA itself? Verne Paule, a FEMA public information officer, says that the signs were "totally unauthorized," and, furthermore, did not offer adequate advice. Paule said that in the case of a sur-

## IN CASE OF NUCLEAR ATTACK



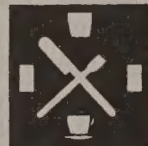
1. REMAIN CALM



5. RESERVE MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR HIGH PRIORITY EVACUEES



2. AVERT EYES FROM FLASH



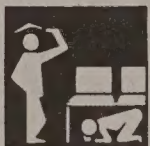
6. HAVE FOOD AND WATER FOR SEVERAL WEEKS OF ISOLATION



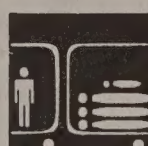
3. BRACE FOR BLAST



7. COMFORT THE DYING



4. DUCK AND COVER/ PLACE NEWSPAPER OVER HEAD



8. ISOLATE CORPSES TO PREVENT SPREAD OF DISEASE

**UNDERGROUND PROTEST:** One morning recently, Bay area commuters in northern California witnessed an unusual advertising campaign. Posted on board 200 Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) subway cars were signs instructing citizens on what to do in the event of a nuclear attack. Pointers, verging on parody, ranged from "avert eyes from flash" to "comfort the dying" to "isolate corpses to prevent the spread of disease," accompanied by drawings that were rather too literal. Still, the signs looked official—right down to the fine print advising people to contact the local office of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) for further information.

"It fooled a lot of people," says Steve Satcher, a member of the Livermore Action affinity group responsible for the posters. "Especially since we cut the posters to the exact size of typical subway advertisements." Reactions to the signs varied. "Many people were con-

prise attack, one should protect the eyes and "curl into a small ball."

The 400 signs had a short tenure on board BART; most of them were removed after one day by souvenir hounds and BART officials. But one day seems to have been enough. "Change comes from getting people to think," says Satcher. "And we started a lot of people thinking." (For your copy send \$4 to Satcher c/o 1504 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94709.)

**BISHOPS CROSS WIRE:** When the final draft of the Roman Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear weapons was circulated in late March, pundits rushed to judge whether this draft was as strong as the one released last fall. Some declared that the bishops had stood firm against Reagan Administration attempts to weaken the letter, while others reported that the bishops had yielded to the pressure. *The New York Times* reported it



both ways.

In the *Times*, under the by-line of Kenneth Briggs, it was reported on March 26 that the final draft "reflects some changes in emphasis but retains the main elements of the strong antinuclear stance that was evident in previous versions . . . ." But in the story that was sent out on the *Times*' wire service the same day to over 500 newspapers across the nation, the *Times*—again under the by-line of Briggs—stressed that this draft "is more accomodating than earlier versions to the Reagan Administration."

What had happened was that the wire story was not written by Briggs. It was reported by Richard Halloran, who covers the defense beat for the *Times*, and was mistakenly sent out on the wire, under Briggs' name, according to James McElroy, executive editor of the *Times*' news service. Halloran's story was supposed to have been superseded by Briggs' article, judged the more accurate of the two. But perhaps the *Times* should have stuck with Halloran's account. A week later, a State Department statement said that the revised letter "has been substantially improved over the previous versions." It noted, "we are pleased that the letter explicitly endorses many of the far-reaching objectives which the Administration seeks."



**WEINBERGER'S TROJAN HORSE:** Last fall the *New England Journal of Medicine* published a speech that Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger had delivered to the Massachusetts Medical Society, during which he used Homer's *Iliad* to belittle the concerns of the antinuclear weapons movement. When Hector, commander-in-chief of the Trojans, meets his wife and son, Weinberger noted, the boy is frightened by his father's helmet. The Secretary then suggested an analogy between Hector's helmet and the U.S. nu-

clear buildup, asserting "the young, and maybe even the not so young, sometimes fail to recognize what it is that protects them. We are too old and, I hope, too wise to respond by crying out at the sight of our protectors."

But as Dr. Howard Rubenstein of Harvard University Health Services points out in a recent issue of the *Journal*, Weinberger neglected to tell how Homer's story ends. Hector's helmet and armor do not protect him from Achilles' spear. "Round and round the walls of Troy, for all Trojans to see, Achilles dragged Hector's corpse, the feet attached to his chariot, the head trailing in the dust," writes Rubenstein. "And Mr. Weinberger does not tell us that Hector's helmet and armor did not protect Troy from annihilation. Homer, unlike Mr. Weinberger, emphasized the futility of wearing a helmet and armor as protection."

**PEACEBURGER TO GO:** If the McDonald's fast-food chain had approved a recent proposal by the Academy of Peace Research in Plymouth, Massachusetts, "Peaceburgers" would soon be available under the famous golden arches. The Academy, which applies creative problem-solving techniques to peace issues, submitted a plan to McDonald's to pack-

## The First Real Hearings on the Nuclear Arms Freeze

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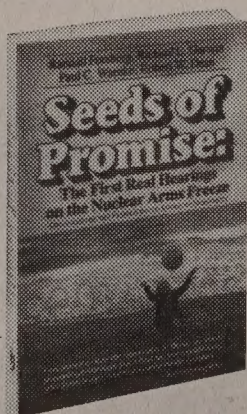
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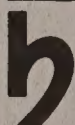
**Dartmouth Medical School**

"...the depth of the inquiry transcends most of the recent freeze offerings..."

**C.E. Wilson, Library Journal**

"I came into these two days [of hearings] rather biased on the question of a freeze...it was too simplistic an idea and sounded too easy...I have now gained a quite different impression. Under that umbrella [a freeze] are a number of ideas which really have great merit and are worthy of further consideration."

**Carl Duckett, CIA, former Deputy  
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age peace-promotion messages with each burger or to begin a new "peace-soy-burger" line. The Academy suggested that McDonald's charge a few extra cents for the "peaceburger" and donate the proceeds to peace groups.

McDonald's, however, turned down all the proposals. "We get thousands of new product ideas each year, as well as proposals for us to carry all sorts of advertising on our packaging," says a McDonald's spokesman in Oak Brook, Illinois. "You'll notice that our wrappers bear no advertising except for our own company." He adds, "We probably thought the 'peaceburger' was a good idea, but one whose time just hasn't come yet." The Academy, which is presently submitting its proposals to Burger King, is also planning to attempt an ambitious coast-to-coast human chain for peace this summer. (See Calendar, June 12.)

**KGB QUEST:** When the American Security Council, an advocacy group that supports Reagan's proposed military buildup, sent out a recent letter soliciting contributions, it characteristically noted that the freeze "would lock the United States into military inferiority." More surprisingly, ASC president John Fisher, who signed the letter, wrote, "Major General Larkin USA (retired), former Deputy Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, tells me that the KGB is spending \$300,000,000 to orchestrate the freeze movement in the United States."

Does the ASC know something the FBI does not? Phil Cox, staff assistant to Fisher, admits that the ASC has no evidence to back up Larkin's claim. "We have no reason to believe he is lying," Cox says. "That kind of specific information is only in the hands of a person who is exposed to intelligence information." The last time Larkin was exposed to any intelligence information, however, was September 1981 when he resigned from his intelligence post. Cox adds that the ASC, by quoting Larkin, is "not making any statement that the KGB is controlling the movement."

**NIXING STAR WARS:** Two weeks before President Reagan introduced his new "Star Wars" vision, 45 U.S. Representatives sent a letter to him urging that testing of the new Vought anti-satellite weapons (ASAT) be delayed until negotiations with the Soviet Union to ban ASATs have been "tried in good faith." The representatives argued that operational testing is "an irreversible step which will make a treaty banning ASAT's much more difficult to obtain."

The letter, initiated by Representative Joe Moakley, the prime sponsor of a House resolution that calls for the ban-

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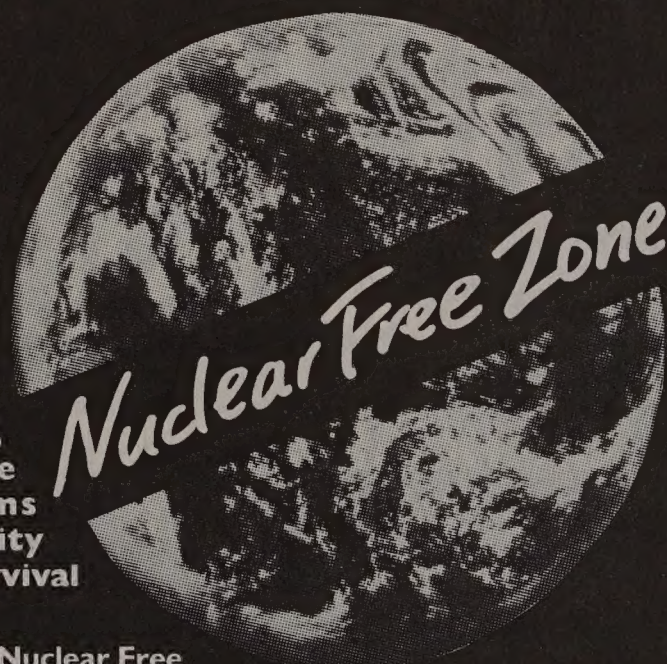
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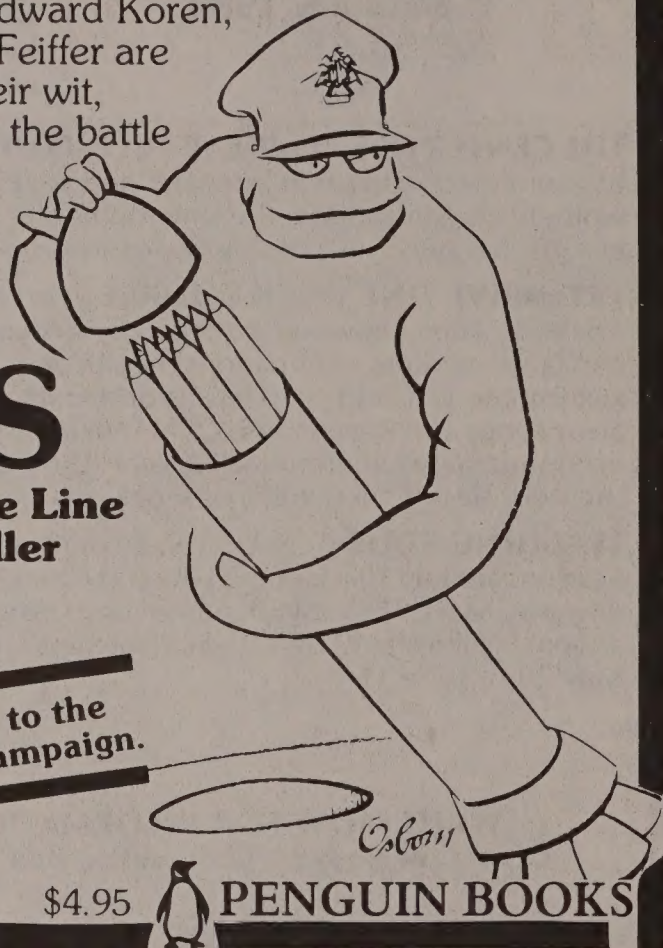
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ning of all space weapons, warned that ASATs "will raise—rather than lower—the chances of a devastating war on earth." The representatives noted that both the U.S. and Soviet militaries depend on satellites for communications, early warning and treaty verification. The existence of ASATs, they maintained, "will turn every computer malfunction and mechanical failure into a pretext for war." Jim McGovern, an aide to Moakley, notes that a major test launch of the Vought ASAT is scheduled for August. (The Soviet Union has tested, with only partial success, their own ASAT.)

**WAR HEADS ON TOUR:** Who believes in "one world, one bomb, one destiny"? Who has two heads, "one part business, one part war"? It's the "double-headed dealer of doom," Armageddonman, the star of the San Francisco Mime Troupe's latest musical-comedy production touring the West Coast this month (see *Calendar*, May 10).

In *Factwino vs. Armageddonman* the indefatigable Mime Troupe, now in its 24th year, pits its resident superhero, Factwino (a black reformed-alcoholic) against the corporate-military complex. One part of Armageddonman wants to blow up the world; the other wants to wait awhile so he can reap profits from the escalating arms race. Armageddonman tries to use Factwino's rapport with the common people to defuse the antinuclear movement. The new play, a follow-up to the award-winning *Factwino Meets the Moral Majority*, features the punk-rock songs "Boom, Boom, Boom" and "Blow The Mother Up." It may tour nationally this fall.

**E.T. PHONE NORAD:** Executives at MGM/UA Entertainment are hoping that *War Games*, their film about a teenage genius who taps into a nuclear-command computer to head off a U.S.-Soviet showdown, will turn out to be this summer's *E.T.* The movie, which will be released in early June, is directed by John Badham (*Saturday Night Fever*) and stars Dabney Coleman and young Matthew Broderick. "The movie is strongly anti-nuke," one studio spokesman says.

*War Games* was controversial from the start. The Pentagon first agreed to cooperate with the filmmakers, then withdrew from the project after reading the script. However, Allen Eichhorn, one of the film's publicists, says that for now he is stressing the entertainment aspects of *War Games*. "The studio does not want to focus on controversy at the start," Eichhorn says. "They don't want to get into a thing like what happened with *Missing*, where the early controversy detracted from the movie." □

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MOVEMENT POLITICS

# Peace Council Raises Questions

**W**hen the Reagan Administration, *Reader's Digest*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the FBI and the CIA want to red-bait the antinuclear weapons movement, to whom do they turn? The U.S. Peace Council.

To the anti-freeze and anti-peace movement forces, the U.S. Peace Council is the bogeyman. Because of the Council's alleged ties to the Helsinki-based World Peace Council and the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), they argue, it holds the pivotal position in the Soviet attempt to manipulate the U.S. peace movement.

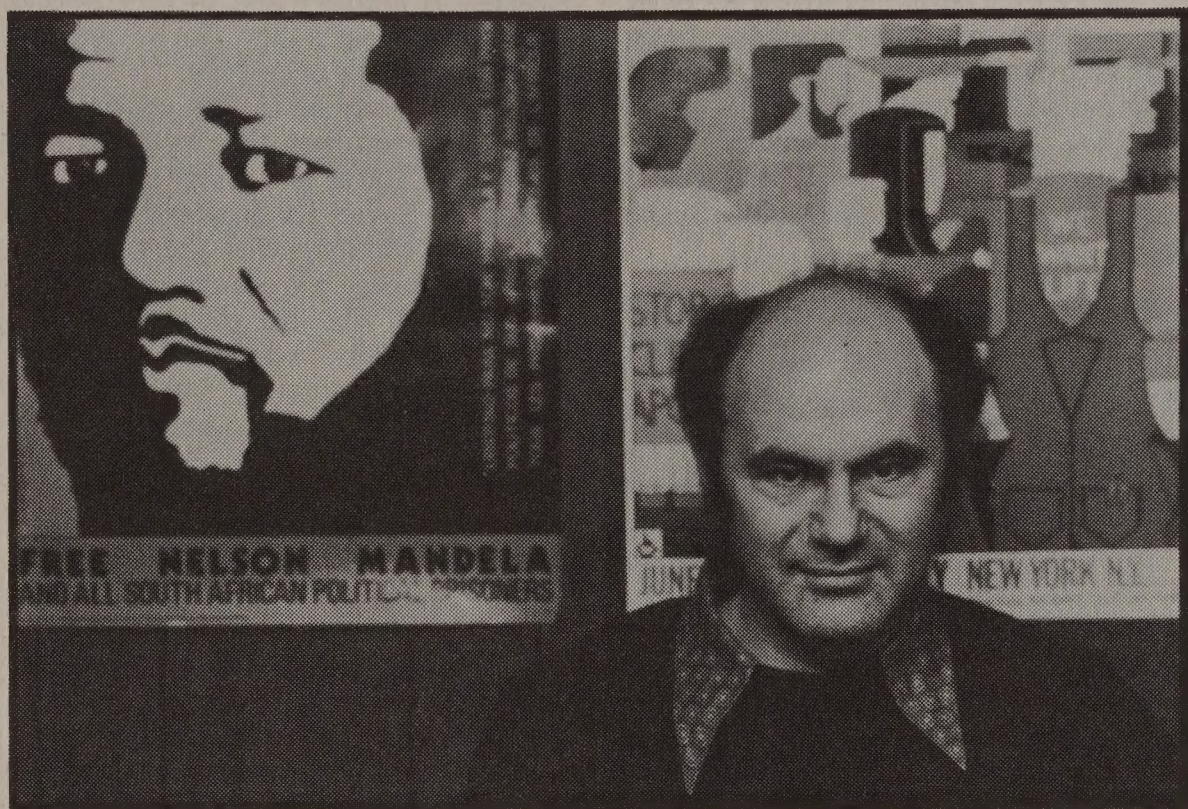
Though the movement and some of the media have been quick to counter charges of Soviet infiltration, there is still an uneasiness among activists in many of the major antinuclear groups regarding the U.S. Peace Council.

There have been calls from outside the movement—issued by the likes of conservative magazines such as *Commentary* and *The American Spectator*, as well as Ronald Radosh in *The New Republic*—to expel Communists, but within the movement there is no talk now of such a purge. Nevertheless, some peace activists wonder how they should deal with the U.S. Peace Council, which freely admits it includes Communists and which has its political differences with many peace groups.

"One issue is, who are these people, and the other issue is, how do you relate to them?" says Betsy Taylor, director of the Military Budget Project. "The second question is more important. You have to develop an operating principle."

This is not an easy task for a movement that is composed of many individuals and groups with varying political beliefs and views toward the Peace Council. "It is especially difficult to discuss this in an atmosphere in which the Communist Party and the U.S. Peace Council are under attack," notes David McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

Some activists say that the U.S. Peace Council should not even be an issue. "The [Reagan] Administration is making this an issue," says Cora Weiss, director of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program. And some strongly believe that any discussion of the Peace Council only plays into the hands of the right-wing and those who seek to discredit the move-



Myerson claims other groups are distancing themselves from the Peace Council

ment.

The U.S. Peace Council, which is based in New York and claims 55 local affiliates and roughly 10,000 members, participates in several peace movement coalitions, including Jobs with Peace, the Campaign for Peace and Justice in Central America, and the Euromissiles Working Group, which is now organizing against the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. But the Peace Council's executive director, Michael Myerson, says that he finds activists and organizations distancing themselves from the Council. The Administration's red-baiting, he explains, "has created a chill within the peace movement. I don't think there are formal moves to purge us, but we do find our name missing from letterheads of coalitions we're in."

In an open letter sent out to peace activists last December, Myerson noted, "Some Peace Council members, volunteers in other movement offices, have been told they are welcome to continue volunteering if they do so 'quietly.'" The letter also claimed that some activists who have worked with the Peace Council in the past "are now pointing out to present and future employers within the peace movement that they are not now nor have they ever been members of the Peace Council."

Peace Council members who participate in movement coalitions, such as the June 12 Rally Committee, are often praised as hard and dedicated workers. At the same time, it is widely assumed within the movement that CPUSA had a hand in establishing the Peace Council, and some activists claim that the Council operates as a front for the party. Although no one has been able to prove the connection, these allegations still cause many activists to be cautious in their dealings with the Peace Council.

## PRAISE AND ALLEGATIONS

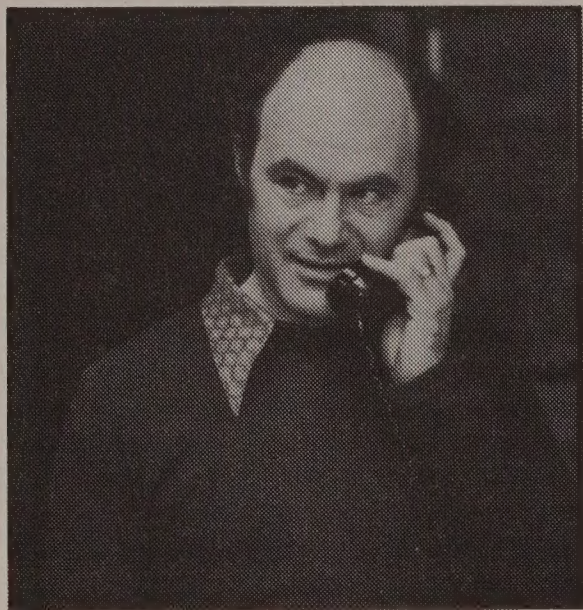
Michael Myerson denies these charges. "The Party supports the Peace Council, but not financially," he says. "It was not active in the coalition that started the U.S. Peace Council." He maintains that CPUSA has no official relationship to the Council. In a December 1981 report to the central committee of CPUSA, however, Gus Hall, general secretary of CPUSA, when outlining the party's peace activities, noted, "Steps should be taken to establish local affiliates of the U.S. Peace Council, as part of the overall plan."

Myerson says Hall's statement "doesn't mean the Communist Party becomes the Peace Council." Milford Sutherland, a member of the party's central committee, agrees. "This should not be taken in a legalistic, literal sense," Sutherland says. "We



might help to establish a local union. That's not to be taken that we are a part of that local union. It does mean political support."

Nevertheless, peace activists often express skepticism regarding the Peace Council. Randall Forsberg, author of the call for the freeze, last fall went so far as to call the Peace Council "probably a Soviet front organization." (She now says that a more accurate description is "a pro-Soviet organization.") David McReynolds maintains the Council is "emphatically not a Soviet front, in that crude sense" but feels it rarely differs from the policies taken by the Soviet Union.



Myerson: taking an "unkosher" position

The issue, Pam Solo of the American Friends Service Committee notes, is not whether one is pro- or anti-Communist, but maintaining independence from political parties and from the official positions of those engaged in the arms race. But it is important to remember, she adds, that the Peace Council is composed of "American citizens who have the right to their own point of view."

Most of the activists who say they believe the Peace Council is officially tied to CPUSA admit that they have no hard evidence to back up their suspicions. But several point out it is the Peace Council's basic policy, which they interpret as pro-Soviet, that causes some to shy away from it. As Donna Cooper, national program director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, puts it, "It is a given that in a coalition meeting the U.S. Peace Council will either abstain from or speak against a measure that condemns the Soviet Union."

Myerson, who says it is no secret that he is a member of CPUSA, admits that his organization, which includes Democratic Socialists, Democrats and independents, as well as Communists, does take a very different tack from most of the peace movement. "It is our estimate that the U.S. government, doing the bidding

of the military-industrial complex and U.S.-based multinational corporations, is responsible for the arms race," he explains. The Peace Council, Myerson notes, does contain some members who "have different problems with the Soviet Union," but most believe that on the question of military and foreign policy, especially nuclear policy, the Soviets are trying to curb the arms race. "It may not be kosher to say so in this political climate," Myerson says, "but we do say that the United States is terribly irresponsible and the Soviet Union is responsible."

Myerson contends that there are others in the peace movement who agree with this but who are afraid to say so. "Others do really understand this to be accurate," he maintains, "but they don't say anything in order to preserve their credentials."

#### A QUESTION OF RACE?

The Peace Council also stands out from other movement groups in its racial makeup. Over half of its leadership and many of its members are non-whites, according to Myerson. Influential black leaders such as Representative John Conyers and Georgia State Senator Julian Bond are Peace Council members, and Gus Newport, the black mayor of Berkeley, is co-chairman of the group. The idea behind the Peace Council, says Myerson, was to build a multiracial peace group. "We thought that this was something missing from the peace movement," he says.

Some members of the Peace Council are critical of the freeze movement for what Sandra Graham, a member of the executive board of the Peace Council and a member of the Cambridge, Massachusetts, city council, calls its "upper-middle-class, white, professionals" character. The task of the Peace Council, she told the audience at a Peace Council-sponsored conference on the "Peace Movement and the Struggle Against Racism" last February, is to "bridge the gap" between minorities, "who are already being nuked by the ever-expanding military budget" and the middle-class peace movement.

Tony Watkins, disarmament coordinator of Clergy and Laity Concerned, believes that it is because the U.S. Peace Council is a multiracial body that it is regarded with skepticism. "The other groups don't have that leadership," says Watkins. "For that reason the question of the Council's ideology might be a straw question. The perception of other groups might be based on racism. Within the black community the Peace Council is looked upon differently than in the white community."

Despite its differences with many anti-nuclear organizations, the U.S. Peace Council has worked with various peace groups since it was founded in November 1979 by what Myerson terms a "diverse" collection of organizers who had been involved in World Peace Council events, trade unions, South African and Cuban solidarity groups, and organizations that had staged demonstrations during the United Nations' first special session on disarmament in 1978. According to Myerson, the Peace Council supports the bilateral freeze. ("We're not against unilateral disarmament," he says, "but it's not practical so we don't support it.") Endorsers of U.S. Peace Council conferences have included David Cortright, executive director of SANE, Anne Sutherland, director of the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, and Seth Adler, national coordinator of the Jobs with Peace campaign.

#### PAST AND PRESENCE

The issue of working with Communists in the peace movement is not new. Twenty-three years ago, for example, when Senator Thomas Dodd, then acting chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, threatened to create a storm over alleged Communist membership in SANE, an internal debate within SANE broke out. Press reports claimed that SANE suspended one organizer after he took the Fifth Amendment before Dodd's committee and refused to tell Norman Cousins, then co-chairman of SANE, whether he was a Communist. (Cousins now maintains no one was expelled from SANE for reasons of being a Communist.)

According to SANE's David Cortright, splits over this issue—dealing with Communists in the movement—that existed on SANE's board then are still evident today. "Because of this history of red-baiting we're now very sensitive," says Cortright. "It's not that I support or want to be a member of the Peace Council, but I don't want to see it excluded."

The issue of working with the U.S. Peace Council goes back at least three years, although it has been heightened by the Radosh piece and recent attempts to red-bait the movement. In 1980 the U.S. Peace Council requested to be admitted into the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, a collection of peace, religious and human rights groups, and was turned down by an 18-8 vote, with four abstentions. According to the minutes of the meeting in which the vote took place, "There was a feeling on a part of a significant number of people that the Coalition should try to move toward the center of the American political



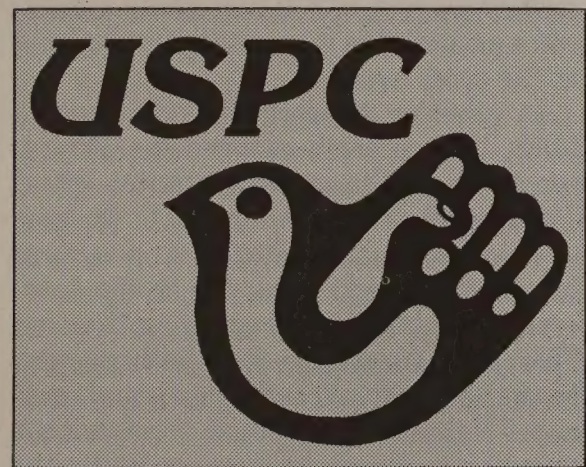
spectrum . . . rather than to the left."

Some members of the Coalition's board believed the admission of the U.S. Peace Council would undermine its lobbying activities. These members wanted to make it clear "that positions the Coalition takes that are critical of the U.S. Government and its policies come from our own independent analysis and conclusions and are not influenced by organizations which may have associations of some sort with a foreign power." Some expressed concern that the U.S. Peace Council is "affiliated" with the World Peace Council (WPC), which includes within its membership of many organizations the official Soviet Peace Committee and "which many Board members felt is completely dominated by the Soviet Union."

Those who voted for admitting the Peace Council argued that denying membership "could only be interpreted as 'Red-baiting' and giving in to 'Anti-Communist' fears." Though it rejected the application, the Coalition did say the Peace Council could continue to participate in its working groups.

Myerson says that the U.S. Peace Council is not "affiliated" with the WPC, in that this implies a structural relationship, but that it is "associated" with the WPC. This means, he explains, that the U.S. Peace Council hosts WPC delegations when they are in the United States and encourages American participation in WPC events. The WPC, says Myerson, provides no material support to the Peace Council.

Myerson claims that one motive behind the Coalition's denial of the Council's request was that member organizations feared that they would lose funding if the U.S. Peace Council was accepted into the Coalition. Richard Healey, director of the Coalition, was not with the Coalition when it rejected the Peace Council's application, but he says minutes of the meeting show that fear over funding was never raised as a concern.



"The fear was that being in the same organization with the U.S. Peace Council could cause organizations to lose credibility," says Healey. "There is a difference between joining an organized coalition and participating in a broader, looser

movement. In the former instance, political differences are appropriately explored and a group is accepted or rejected on them. But in the broader view, no one has the right to accept or reject anyone or to call for a witch-hunt."

Myerson does not agree that political differences should keep groups from working with the Peace Council. In the open letter he insisted "that ours is at least as legitimate a point of view, as honestly arrived at as any other and political conformity must not be a litmus test for 'acceptability.'"

Edith Villastrigo, national legislative coordinator of Women Strike for Peace, one of the groups that favored the Council's inclusion in the Coalition, agrees. "We must be multiracial and multi-ideas," she notes. "It's too dangerous to be exclusive."

#### FACING THE UNPOPULAR

The U.S. Peace Council's role in the movement raises the question of how a broad and diverse movement should deal with groups that adopt unpopular political positions. There appears to be sentiment against any outright exclusion. But several organizers admit it is often difficult to work with those who operate on different basic assumptions.

Some activists say that as long as the peace movement articulates a clear position that challenges both superpowers, it will naturally distance itself from those who choose sides in the arms race. Seymour Melman, co-chairman of SANE and a long-time opponent of the arms race, believes the antinuclear movement should adopt as a basic principle the contention that both superpowers share responsibility for the current state of affairs regarding the arms race. This would isolate "any partisans of Soviet or American foreign and military policy," he says. "It takes two to tango. If that's not addressed, that's dishonesty."

For Myerson, the whole issue of ideological differences within the movement is largely irrelevant. "When you're trying to prevent World War III, you don't have the luxury to say you will only work with people who agree with you."

Undoubtedly, the questions about the Council's policies and its political independence will remain and continue to cause concern. In the meantime, Myerson and the Peace Council are busy on a number of projects. The Council is working on peace budgets—blueprints for diverting federal funds from wasteful military spending toward social programs—for 24 cities and one for the entire United States. It has also made organizing for the August 27 march on Washington, D.C., a top priority. "Our interest," says Myerson, "is moving the movement forward."

—David Corn

#### MX REDUX

## Opponents Lobby Congress, Plan Protests

Responding to the Scowcroft commission's recent call for the deployment of 100 new MX missiles in existing, but reinforced, Minuteman silos in Nebraska and Wyoming, anti-MX groups that helped defeat President Reagan's dense pack basing plan are getting ready for another fight. "Things are really heating up around here," says April Moore of the National Campaign to Stop the MX in Washington, D.C. "We're getting the word out about this plan. SANE is alerting people all over the country. We're all just amazed that the commission couldn't come up with anything better. The plan is not only warmed-over—it's bankrupt. Still, we have our work cut out for us." In 1981, Congress rejected a similar plan proposed by Reagan.

Members of the National Campaign to Stop the MX are pressuring the House Armed Services Committee which will debate the MX issue during the last week of this month. They are also circulating a response to the commission's recommendations signed by 19 scientific and military experts.

Activists in western states have lost no time in countering the commission's proposal. "We've outlined two strategies," says Mary Wilham of Western Solidarity, an eight-state coalition born out of last winter's MX battle. "First of all, we'll be putting a lot of pressure on Congress when it takes up the issue later this month. And we've got a regional strategy mapped out. Wyoming and Nebraska are, of course, the focus of our activity. We're concentrating on public education, and we'll be stepping up our media campaign on the impact of the MX on the environment."

Sister Frances Russell of the Tri-State MX Coalition in Cheyenne, Wyoming, says that much of her group's energies will be focused on "demythologizing the concept that the people of Wyoming want the MX. We're not going to allow a dozen businessmen to determine our future," Russell says, referring to the economic climate in Wyoming that has been receptive to MX basing there. In mid-June, the anti-MX groups plan to stage demonstrations in several areas along Wyoming's borders. "We want the nation to see," says Russell, "that the people of Wyoming don't want this baby." —Renata Rizzo



NUCLEAR FREE ZONES

# Cambridge Targets Weapons Work

**N**uclear free zone advocates could not ask for two more contrasting centers of support in New England than Stetson, Maine, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. But this spring, the tiny hamlet of Stetson (population 600), 20 miles from the city of Bangor, and Cambridge, a diverse urban center across the Charles River from Boston—home to Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)—became the first New England sites to join the growing national campaign to ban within their localities, the production, handling and deployment of nuclear weapons.

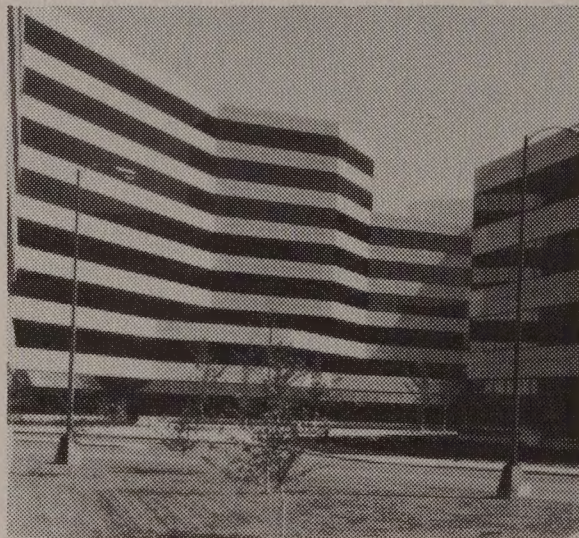
Modelled on similar initiatives in Europe and the Pacific Islands, the American nuclear free zone (NFZ) campaign took hold last year when two small Maryland towns, Garrett Park and Sykesville, overwhelmingly passed binding referenda that posed a bold, new tactic for the disarmament movement. Ashland, Oregon and Roosevelt, New Jersey, have since followed suit with the additional provision that the city would jail and fine any violators of the ban. Coordinated by Nukewatch in Madison, Wisconsin, and Nuclear Free America in Baltimore, Maryland, NFZ organizing is now spreading to statewide campaigns in California, Wisconsin and Michigan.

The focus of the Cambridge drive will be the Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, a private weapons contractor formerly tied to M.I.T., which receives about \$100 million annually in Defense Department contracts, according to Nuclear Free Cambridge. Much of this chunk goes for designing guidance systems for the MX and Trident (and possibly, cruise) missiles. Draper has taken no position publicly on the NFZ campaign. Several other Cambridge companies, such as American Science and Engineering, also work on nuclear weapons systems. A spokesman for BBN Computer Corporation would neither confirm or deny that the company was involved in the production of an underwater communications system for the Trident. Officials at Harvard and M.I.T. claim that no nuclear weapons-related research is conducted on their campuses.

On March 1, Nuclear Free Cambridge, a project of Boston Mobilization for Survival (MFS), announced the beginning of a drive to place a binding referendum on the municipal ballot in November. Titled the Nuclear Free Cambridge Act, the referendum would, according to orga-

nizer Rich Schreuer, "strike a real as well as symbolic blow against the nuclear arms industry." It bans all new work and research on nuclear weapons in Cambridge and mandates an end to current activities by October 1, 1985. Each violation would be punishable by 60 days imprisonment and/or up to a \$5000 fine.

Schreuer and the other members of Nuclear Free Cambridge are optimistic about the petition drive (they expect to collect twice the required 3000 signatures well in advance of the October filing deadline) but are realistic about the pressure they will face from contractors in the months ahead. "We will, of course, be treated to a major [anti-NFZ] publicity campaign," Schreuer says. The NFZ campaign will counter statements that the weapons labs "bring jobs" to Cambridge by pointing out that only about one in 10 Draper employees actually lives in the city; and they will reveal that (according to their calculations) the nuclear weapons business provides, at most, one-



NFZ target: Draper Labs

tenth of 1 percent of Cambridge's tax revenues. "Unfortunately for the bomb-makers," Schreuer says, "they contribute almost nothing to the city, and we should have no trouble demonstrating that."

Cambridge actually foreshadowed the NFZ campaign by passing a non-binding referendum to freeze local weapons production in the 1981 elections. (The question passed comfortably with 74 percent of the votes.) At present, the campaign is concentrating on weekly educational meetings organized by 25 volunteers. Another 25 people are fanning out with petitions. In late April, Boston MFS began outreach to local churches, community and tenants groups. The emphasis throughout will be to ensure a large turn-

out in an election without the draw of national or statewide races. The referendum will need to win a two-thirds majority at the poll and that vote will have to represent one-third of all registered voters in the city.

The opening salvo of opposition to the drive was sounded March 18 when the *Boston Globe*, in a lead editorial entitled "Nuking Academic Freedom", alleged the "scheme would inconvenience and harass many and still not lead to control of nuclear weaponry." Labelling the NFZ campaign as "thought control" directed at area universities, the editorial cited the freeze movement as a "sensible and germane" alternative.

Some activists admit that their campaign's unilateral nature might trouble mainstream disarmament forces. But Schreuer feels that the NFZ campaign can be an effective tactic. "It makes demands of local officials that go beyond merely sending supportive statements to Washington," he contends. National MFS adopted NFZs as one of the priorities in its local organizing at its annual convention in January.

Unlike Cambridge, Stetson does not host a good deal of nuclear weapon work—probably none at all. Still, "we had to do something," says Matt Halloran, who together with several neighbors began a two-month "house-to-house campaign" that put Stetson on the NFZ map in mid-March.

Town residents, spurred by Halloran and members of STOMP (Stetson Townspeople Organizing for Mankind's Preservation), voted at their annual town meeting to stop the "planned genocide of nuclear war" (in Halloran's words). The local activists first heard of the campaign after reading Nukewatch literature. They sent for an organizer's kit and then went door-to-door to the far corners of the rural farming community. Over 100 signatures (out of 270 registered voters) were gathered to force the issue to a vote at the town meeting.

In addition to declaring the town a NFZ, the residents adopted the Ukrainian town of Stepan as a "sister city." Their resolution calls for the U. S. government to remove Stepan as a nuclear target while requesting the Soviet leadership to do the same regarding Stetson. "We have to realize that both peoples have the same desires for peace and security," Halloran commented, "and that the aversion to Russians encouraged by the government is dehumanizing—to them and us." The townspeople are being encouraged to write letters to families in the Ukrainian town, sending photos, as well as descriptions of their homes and families.

—John Peter Demeter



# Officers Seek C.O. Status

A day shy of the first anniversary of receiving their Air Force commissions, second lieutenants Steven Moctezuma and Tricia Critchfield found themselves chanting slogans at the June 12 disarmament rally in Central Park. Moctezuma, who joined the Reserved Officers Training Corps program at the University of Florida in 1978 because he believed in the Strategic Air Command's motto—"Peace Through Strength"—remembers asking Critchfield, his wife, at the march: "Did you ever think we'd end up in something like this?"

The rally was but one step on a path that led the couple to file applications for conscientious objector discharges this past January. "We are opposed to war in any form, and believe that killing is immoral," says Moctezuma. "And nuclear weapons are the most extreme example of man's ability to kill man."

The couple's action is considered significant by some military observers, who wonder if the renewed national debate over U.S. nuclear policy is beginning to spark discontent within military ranks.

Moctezuma and Critchfield are scheduled to begin four-year active duty hitches when they complete graduate studies this month. He is studying sociology at Montclair State College in New Jersey and she is a criminology student at Rutgers University. They met while attending ROTC classes in Florida in 1978. Both say they will go to prison rather than report. "On this our beliefs are very strong," says Moctezuma. "We won't go."

Military hearings on the couple's applications are expected soon. If the two do not receive discharges, they plan to file suit in federal court, where their attorneys say they will subpoena Eugene Rostow, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and General Edward C. Meyer, the Army chief of staff. "We want to bring them in to testify that conventional warfare is obsolete," says Tod Ensign, a lawyer for Citizen Soldier, an organization that represents military personnel and veterans. "We want to show that U.S. policy relies on nuclear weapons."

The couple did not come to its decision lightly. Critchfield, 23, comes from a family with strong military ties; her father is a retired Air Force officer, her brother-in-law died in action in Vietnam, and her brother is stationed overseas

with the Air Force. "It's been a gradual process, but I've come to the conclusion that nuclear war can never be just," she says. "It is wanton mass murder and destruction. By serving in any capacity in the military, you have some complicity in that. And I want no part of it."

Moctezuma, 22, said their membership in the Unitarian Universalist Church and close readings of the writings of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. strengthened their opposition to the mili-



**Moctezuma and Critchfield: No complicity**

tary. Critchfield said her attendance at meetings of the Newark Disarmament Group heightened her awareness of the nuclear war issue.

Moctezuma and Critchfield are not the only Air Force personnel who object to its nuclear policy. Senior Airman Martin Nichols, formerly stationed at Ellsworth Air Force Base in Rapid City, South Dakota, submitted his application for a conscientious objector discharge last December. In an interview, Nichols said he based his application on a belief that there is no distinction between conventional and nuclear war, which he considers immoral. "It is irresponsible to assume also that we could have a limited nuclear war," he said. Nichols, who enlisted in the service in 1979, worked as a Russian linguist in the Air Force's Electronic Security Squadron in Augsburg, West Germany. While stationed there, Nichols says, he was deeply influenced by the European disarmament movement. He went so far as to establish a discussion group on nuclear policy among fellow military personnel. He also tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to launch a publication on the base to bring attention to the nuclear issue. His officers were not pleased with his activities. "My commanding officer told me, 'If you go on the way you are, the system will crush you,'" Nichols recalls.

In mid-January, a hearing officer recommended that Nichols' application for CO status be disapproved, and the enlisted man immediately filed a rebuttal.

But in early February, Nichols received word that he was being involuntarily discharged from the Air Force for his earlier refusal—on moral and ethical grounds—to sign an agreement giving the military the right to censor all of his future writings on military matters, a common procedure for personnel engaged in sensitive military work. "My personal feeling," Nichols said, "is that the discharge, which I accepted, is a definite reaction to the publicity stirred up by my application for a CO discharge." Nichols was discharged on March 10. He plans to get involved in disarmament organizing in Bakersfield, California.

The Air Force insists the two cases do not indicate a trend of rising discontent in its ranks. In the last three years 255 applications for CO discharges have been lodged, and 220 of them were granted. Air Force officials say that the figure is about average for peacetime. The Critchfield/Moctezuma case is drawing special scrutiny because of the rarity of officers requesting CO discharges—about 90 percent of the requests are from the ranks of non-commissioned enlisted personnel.

As for charges that they took advantage of the Air Force's ROTC program, Critchfield and Moctezuma say they are willing to give back the \$2400 in pay each received as ROTC cadets during their undergraduate college years. "The money is not an issue," says Moctezuma. "War is."

—Eric Nadler

## PEACE MARCH

# Texas Bound

It all started in a history class at Columbia University in New York. "We were discussing Gandhi's Salt March," says student and Pax Christi member Luke Hill, "when I suddenly thought, 'Why not do the same thing here?'"

This month a group of Pax Christi members will begin to walk most of the way from the Pentagon to Amarillo, Texas, site of the Pantex plant, where all U.S. nuclear weapons are assembled. On May 22, they will leave Washington, D.C., and walk to Baltimore. From there, they will take a bus to Cincinnati and then walk the remaining 1200 miles to Amarillo, arriving August 6, Hiroshima Day. "We're walking for economic conversion," says Hill. "We believe that we must change from a war to a peace economy." Along the route the group, called the Plowshares Pilgrimage, will collect money for the Solidarity Peace Fund to help Pantex workers who have left the plant for reasons of conscience.



# Round-Up

## Freeze Bill "Refined" During House Floor Debate

■ Once a U.S. president proposes a nuclear freeze to the Soviet Union, and it is accepted, and a treaty negotiated, signed and ratified, does that mean that all production of nuclear weapons will cease? Not necessarily so, according to Representative Clement Zablocki, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and floor manager of the freeze resolution.

During House debate on the freeze on April 13, Zablocki said that a freeze would not prevent the replacement of old weapon systems with new weapon systems, providing the new system was the same type as the old. For instance, he explained, an old B-52 bomber could be replaced by a new B-52 bomber, but not by a B-1 bomber. Similarly, an old Minuteman missile could be replaced by a new Minuteman, but not an MX. He also claimed that Poseidon submarines could be replaced by new Trident submarines, as long as the aggregate number of war-

heads and missiles did not increase.

Reuben McCornack, the freeze campaign's Washington, D.C., representative, maintains there is nothing inconsistent between Zablocki's position and that of the freeze campaign. "We go along with the idea of maintaining a deterrence under a freeze," he says. "The chairman is simply calling for the replacement of items no longer workable, on a one-for-one basis."

The reason the issue arose is this: When the freeze resolution first reached the floor of the House this year in March, its congressional supporters offered confusing and conflicting answers to technical questions posed by opponents, and the debate was postponed a full month. Several arms control lobbyists said that the problems on the floor were due to overconfidence and lack of preparation.

To be ready for the April 13 floor debate, congressional supporters, after extensive briefings with arms control lobbyists, made some "refinements in the freeze concept," according to McCornack. During this debate, the pro-freeze forces handled the technical issues better. But some of their clarifications raised questions. One arms control lobbyist now says that the resolution is "not as good as it should be" and warns that the movement "should be careful not to

identify so closely with the resolution." But McCornack contends none of the "refinements" violate the spirit of the freeze. "Through the process of debate," he explains, "some technical aspects have been more sharply defined."

—David Corn

## Churches To Kick Off Peace With Justice Week

■ Prayer services outside of weapons plants and military bases, community rallies against the arms race and social services cutbacks, and a 10-kilometer run for peace are among the activities scheduled to take place around the country during Peace with Justice Week, May 23-30.

The week, organized by a dozen national church organizations in cooperation with the National Council of Churches in New York, will emphasize both the international and community effects of militarism. In Colorado and Wyoming, according to Jean Bagley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, there will be demonstrations against the transportation of nuclear warheads through the area. On May 22-23 in Washington, D.C., the Sojourners Peace Ministry plans to hold the Peace Pentecost, a national religious gathering that will include prayer and civil disobedience in the Capitol Rotunda. And throughout the week many church study and Bible groups, says Joyce Yu of the National Council of Churches, will discuss the Roman Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear war.

But Peace with Justice Week, says the Reverend Donald Jacobs of Partners in Ecumenism, a coalition of black church groups, will also concentrate on local issues, such as racism and poverty. This emphasis, he notes, should elicit interest within communities that so far have not been deeply involved in the antinuclear movement. "Black ministers and congregations," says Jacobs, "hope that major church agencies and white denominations, at the same time that they call for peace in places like El Salvador and the Middle East, will begin to look at the inner cities of America and help shift funds back from the military to desperately needed social services."

The week will culminate in the fifth annual Peace Sabbath Weekend, for which the Fellowship of Reconciliation is serving as a national clearinghouse. The weekend will feature religious services and activities on the theme of disarmament.

—W.L.

## Maryland State House Rejects FEMA Funding

■ "This sounds like such Mickey Mouse stuff," said Maryland State Senator Julian Lapidés, reacting to nuclear war civil defense plans drawn up by the Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services. Most of his fellow state legislators agreed, and on March 31 Maryland became the first state to turn down funding from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) for civil defense.

By rejecting the \$77,000 in funding, the Maryland state legislature cancelled three full-time staff positions. A state senate budget subcommittee, says Lapidés, concluded that "it was a boondoggle for three men to be engaged in the futile effort of preparing against a nuclear attack, that it was not a proper use of time and money." Emergency planning programs for natural disasters, such as hurricanes, were left intact in the final 1984 state budget.

About 40 local communities across the country have previously refused to participate in FEMA civil defense plans, ac-

cording to FEMA spokesman Russell Clanahan. But as Albert Donnay of Baltimore Physicians for Social Responsibility, which lobbied for rejecting the funds, explains, "As long as the state still received funding, it was always able to draw up plans for an area no matter what the people living there thought." Now, he notes, there will be no one at the state level putting together such plans for any region. (Similar measures to reject FEMA civil defense funding are being introduced in the state legislatures of Vermont, Massachusetts, New York and California.)

Both Donnay and Lapidés say it is possible that FEMA might threaten to withdraw all federal emergency planning funding for Maryland because of the vote. FEMA officials, however, say they have not yet considered how to respond. But FEMA has recently abandoned its crisis relocation program in favor of an "Integrated Emergency Management System," which treats nuclear war as one emergency along a continuum of disasters, such as tornados and floods. Because of this new policy, Donnay says, FEMA might require recipients of federal funds to plan for all emergencies.

—Walter Lew



# From Earth Mother To Expert



Bread and Puppet Theater portrays dissident housewives, while Randall Forsberg represents another role

**I**n the late 1960s, at the height of the movement to end the war in Vietnam, a large group of anti-war activists withdrew in protest from a number of anti-war groups. Fed up with doing the "scut-work" of political organizing and providing a support system for the superstars who dominated the movement and the media debate, these activists challenged the power relationships that prevailed both inside the peace movement and society at large. The protestors were women, of course, and the movement they helped create was modern feminism.

Now, two decades later, feminism has altered the lives of many women both in the United States and across the globe. Women are now taking leadership positions in the new peace movement that is struggling to rid the world of nuclear weapons and war.

The fact that women are active peace campaigners is not a new phenomenon. When it comes time to advance emotional arguments against war and the arms race, women are thought to be "natural" advocates of peace. According to many women and men, the old question of biology still plays a part: as givers of life

women are the symbolic guardians of human and planetary existence.

Unfortunately, this role of "peace mother" has often limited both women's effectiveness and the extent of their participation in anti-war movements. When it comes time to leave passion aside and discuss the "real" issues—military strategy, economics, international relations and political policy—women are often asked to yield the floor to the legitimate experts, to let men take over and "really give peace a chance."

In the past women could do little to counter male domination: they had been effectively barred from developing expertise in so-called masculine fields. But today, some of the new peace movement's most influential experts and organizers are women.

As grass-roots organizers, women have been instrumental in the freeze campaign and in protesting the deployment of missiles in Europe. As disarmament experts, women such as Alva Myrdal and Randall Forsberg have promoted viable negotiating formulas that have been adopted by major political constituencies. As weapons and arms control experts, women such as Mary Kaldor and

Jane Sharp have helped transform the strategic debate. And as political leaders, Petra Kelly of Germany and Luciana Castellina of Italy—among many others—have fought for peace in legislatures and parliament.

Women have indeed changed. The question is, has the world they inhabit changed with them? Do women have a special role to play in the new peace movement and does the peace community and the world at large recognize and respect their considerable contribution and expertise?

## GRIT, GRACE & DRAGON LADIES

Marjorie Tuite, director of Citizen Action for Church Women United and the president of the National Assembly of Religious Women, argues that women bring "grit and grace" to the movement. "They bring the staying power," says Tuite, a 50-year-old Dominican nun, who has just returned from a visit to Greenham Common in England and Comiso in Sicily, "and a willingness to take risks. Because earth consciousness is woman consciousness, they have a special understanding of what it means to have the earth raped by the insertion of

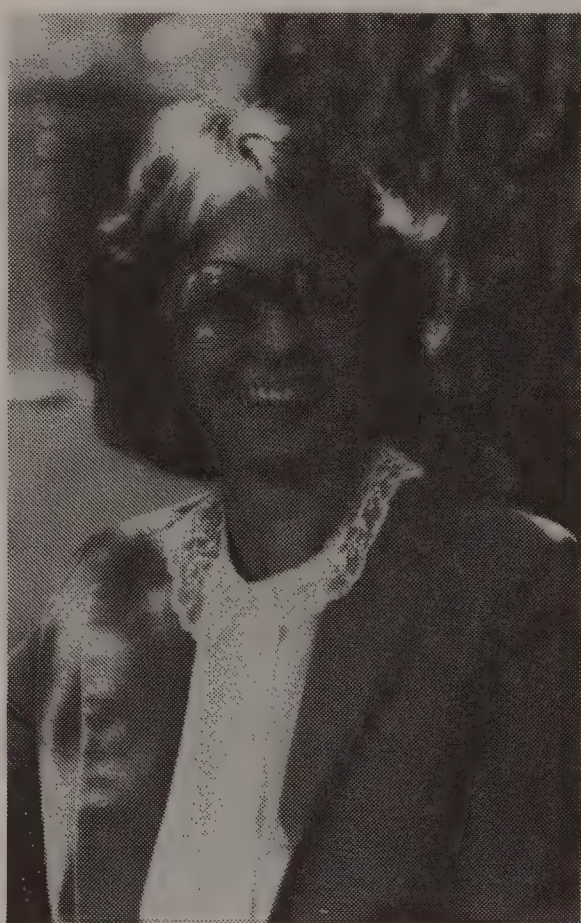


missiles. Women," she concludes, "just aren't conditioned to the militaristic mind-set to which men are conditioned."

Tuite, furthermore, believes that women necessarily expand demands raised by the peace movement. "The key question is whether peace is possible in a patriarchal society," she observes. "I'm not sure, but one thing I do know is that women can't fight just for peace. Because of our experiences we know that we must also change the power equation in society if peace is to be attained."

Cora Weiss, co-director of the Riverside Disarmament Project, and a long-time peace campaigner, does not attribute woman's role in the peace movement to biology. She does, however, believe women's subordinate position in a male-dominated society helps them grasp the fact that a society that wages "war" at home—against the poor, women and minorities—will eventually wage war against all human and planetary life.

Weiss herself became involved in the peace movement when she realized that nuclear weapons and weapons-testing put children in direct jeopardy. "When President Kennedy was shooting the A-bomb into the air like firecrackers," she recalls, "I learned that you could test the amount of radioactive fallout by measuring its presence in the teeth of kids who



Pratt represents peace and working person

drank milk with strontium 90 in it. After my infant daughter lost her first tooth, I put 25 cents under her pillow for the tooth fairy, and took the tooth to be tested. That got me really scared and I

joined Women's Strike for Peace and suddenly found myself marching in front of the White House in white gloves and high heels."

Although Weiss is emphatic about women's central importance, she is careful to point out that women and men must be in this struggle together. "Only the bomb doesn't discriminate in this world," she observes. "It's going to take us all with it, and we must all form a powerful movement for change."

While Weiss, Tuite and many others emphasize the motivating force of femininity and feminism, other women attach less importance to this factor.

"I mainly see myself as a representative of the labor movement and a representative of people fighting for peace and equality, whether it is equality of working people or minorities or women," says Judith Pratt, a three-term New Mexico state legislator and national coordinator of the National Peace Caucus of State Legislators. "My main battle is to fight for peace and the working person."

Jane Sharp, a British expert on the history of arms control and visiting scholar at the peace studies program at Cornell University, also finds the "grit and grace" argument less than convincing. "I'm just not sure how special women are," Sharp says. "If, for example, you get a man and a woman who are experts in arms control, I don't think you would find their expertise colored by their gender. Indeed, you'd find many 'dragon ladies' in the arms field. They aren't for peace, they're for war. Women heads of state—Mrs. Thatcher or Mrs. Gandhi, for example—are not particularly benign. When I hear talk about woman as nurturers, I just feel uncomfortable. I think men are just as often nurturing."

#### ALL A MATTER OF TALK

No matter what their position on women's "special" qualifications, most women activists do agree that women have a harder time being taken seriously than do men.

Carolyn Roberts, a minister of the United Church of Christ and the peace advocate for the United Campus Christian Ministry at Stanford University, feels that at public meetings "men dominate the discussion. I find that men tend to jump into a debate and take an active role, even if they're not experts. They feel freer to participate as a means of self-education. Women, I think, feel that they get educated by listening, not by participating. I tend to do that when I'm unsure of an area being discussed." Roberts says she spends a good deal of time boning up on the issues so that she will feel more confident in public discussions.

## Gender Gap Emerges In Surveys

Despite Phyllis Schlafly's oft-quoted statement that the atomic bomb "is a marvelous gift that was given to our country by a wise God," most women do not see nuclear weaponry as providential. According to a 1982 *New York Times*/CBS survey, almost three-quarters (74 percent) of the women polled thought the development of the atomic bomb was a "bad thing," while only a little more than half the men (56 percent) felt the same way. Women also seem to be more concerned than men about the inevitability of nuclear war. In the same *New York Times*/CBS poll, more than half the women thought the United States would probably become involved in a nuclear war within the next decade; only a third of the men expressed the same fear.

These beliefs and fears have manifested themselves in women's widespread support for the nuclear freeze movement and in their opposition to the Reagan administration. The most recent Gallup Poll showed that 47 percent of American men approved of Reagan's performance in office but only 35 percent of

women felt that way. According to the Gallup organization this is the first time a Gallup presidential approval poll has shown a significant gender difference, indicating the possible emergence of a women's voting block.

In a 1982 *New York Times*/CBS survey, almost 60 percent of the men said they trusted President Reagan to make the right decisions about the control of nuclear weapons; only 45 percent of the women agreed. Polls commissioned by the Reagan administration to determine the cause of this lack of confidence in the President indicate that his positions on war and peace issues are a major factor. The White House has responded by creating a council on women's issues and by appointing more women to positions within the Administration.

But this may not be enough. According to statistics on recent voting trends, the voting turnout of women now equals that of men, and they now comprise more than half the electorate. If women stick to the convictions they espouse in surveys, a turnaround in American arms control policy may be inevitable. —Mary Trinity





**Tuite: "Women bring staying power"**

"Women aren't only nurturers," Cora Weiss says, "they're experts as well. But you wouldn't know it if you go to 60 percent of the conferences being given. They're male-dominated." She cites as one example the recent University of Pennsylvania Forum Toward Preventing Nuclear War. Of 47 leading participants only six were women.

"What happens," says Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, and founder of the freeze campaign, "is that about 50 percent of all conferences and public debates include virtually no women or only a token woman." Forsberg cites the first Physicians for Social Responsibility Program on the Medical Consequences of Nuclear War as a perfect illustration. "When PSR organized the meeting, they had no women speakers at all," Forsberg charges. "Several women on the PSR steering committee complained and said they'd quit if women weren't represented.

"So PSR called me and asked for names of prominent women. I offered several, and they were rejected because they weren't well enough known to attract journalists. When I suggested that this superstar syndrome trapped women in a vicious cycle—that is, women aren't asked because they're not prominent enough and they're not prominent enough because they're not asked—I was reminded that the purpose of PSR was to end nuclear war. That, the PSR representative told me, was the group's most important task, and if it was watered down by fighting another battle [the battle of the sexes], we wouldn't win."

Forsberg says she has found this kind of attitude to be far more prevalent in

groups that are new to the peace movement than in older, more established peace groups.

And, like so many other women, she says she frequently encounters blatant discrimination outside the peace community. "Once you move outside the peace movement," she says, "you find that many people believe that men are more knowledgeable about military forces and strategies and economic and foreign policy issues and that we should look to men to inform us about these matters."

This pattern of discrimination is evident, says Forsberg, within foreign policy and political elites and in the press. "When I'm giving a public speech alone there is no problem," Forsberg continues, "but I find that if I'm debating before a general audience or conference, or in the media, with a member of the military establishment, he'll be looked at with the expectation that he, a man, will be far more knowledgeable than I am."

Ironically, many women experts and organizers say that the military establishment takes women far more seriously than do politicians or the public. "People in the military recognize very quickly that I know a great deal about military forces and military strategy," says Forsberg.

Cora Weiss and Jane Sharp point to the National Security Institute for Women,



**Weiss: "The bomb doesn't discriminate"**

held in Washington, D.C., on March 30-31, as further proof of the military's awareness of the "female threat."

With the defense budget being debated in Congress, the Pentagon invited to the conference many friendly forces—Defense Department employees, female

## Women Share Leadership

**A**t least half the members or supporters of nuclear disarmament groups in this country are women, a significant statistic considering the traditionally passive role of women in politics. Only a decade ago one national opinion poll reported that less than one of every six women thought of themselves as politically involved.

In a recent survey for NUCLEAR TIMES, 23 of 26 national antinuclear weapons organizations estimated that women make up at least half their membership or leadership. Some groups, such as Peace Links and Women Strike for Peace are composed almost entirely of women; many of the rest report an increase in female participation. A spokesman for the national Freeze campaign said that of people nationwide supporting the freeze women make up "a slight but clear majority."

Even in formerly male-dominated organizations women have asserted themselves. The Fellowship of Reconciliation discovered in a recent survey that of 3000 new members almost half were women. Female participation in the movement has made inroads at the high school level as well. Past studies have suggested that

girls are less interested than boys in politics. But according to Warren Goldstein, network coordinator of STOP Nuclear War, an organization of high school students and teachers, girls outnumber boys in membership by two to one, a predominance he termed "extraordinary."

The role of women in these organizations goes well beyond making coffee. Most report that women hold at least half the leadership roles—key executive, public speaking, fundraising and research positions. A spokesman for Ground Zero said that more than half its local organizers around the country are women. Support for the Council for a Livable World is evenly divided but "women are the grass-roots activists," the Council's Jan Smith says, "the ones calling up with ideas." Five of the eight directors of Mobilization for Survival are women. In the Freeze campaign's national offices women hold two-thirds of the staff positions, and they hold 25 of 30 slots with Physicians for Social Responsibility. Most of the student members of the steering committee for United Campuses To Prevent Nuclear War, an organization of professors and students, are women.

—Mary Trinity



# National Groups

*The following round-up of women's organizations active in the antinuclear weapons campaign mentions only those that operate on a national level. There are hundreds of local groups—from Mothers for Peace in California, to Women against Military Madness in Minnesota, to the Upstate Feminist Peace Alliance in New York—that form an important organizational network for the national peace effort.*

**Church Women United**, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10015 (212) 870-3293.

Founded in 1941, Church Women United has half a million members in 2000 chapters in 50 states. The ecumenical group is involved in "worship, advocacy and the empowerment of women," according to Ann Ware, staff member at their national office, and "there is no doubt that peace is one of our highest priorities." The executive council issued a Proclamation of Peace in 1980. The group has actively lobbied against the MX missile, and is one of the sponsors of the women's peace camp at Seneca Falls, New York.

**Peace Links**, 723 1/2 8th Street S.E., Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

"We want to reach women who aren't already involved in the issue," explains Laurie Daschle, national coordinator. To accomplish this, Peace Links sends members from its national Peace Panel to PTA meetings, church groups, garden clubs, and other nonpolitical gatherings. Founded in 1982 by Betty Bumpers, Peace Links was created to increase participation by women and families on the issues of nuclear war, the arms race, and alternative proposals for peace through extensive networking at the local level. To date, 40 congressional and gubernatorial wives have joined Peace Links, providing both respectability and press coverage for the group.

Peace Links is the sponsor of Peace Day, billed as a patriotic celebration of peace, which falls on the first Sunday in October. Last year, tens of thousands of people participated in Peace Day by holding parades, fairs, picnics and church-services across the country.

**Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament**, 691 Massachusetts Avenue, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880

WAND was founded by Helen Caldicott in 1980 and now has 70 nationwide affiliates. Like Peace Links, WAND works mainly at the grass-roots level. WAND supports an educational fund that provides fact sheets, lecture series,

films, and books on nuclear issues to groups and individuals. The group has also formed a congressional PAC.

Currently, WAND is promoting a national campaign called Millions of Moms. "We want to bring mothers together for peace on Mother's Day, which was Julia Ward Howe's original idea for the occasion," says Jenny Russell, project coordinator. "We're asking all mothers everywhere to wear white chrysanthemums in solidarity on May 8." WAND has enlisted Beverly Sills, Carol Burnett, Goldie Hawn and Sally Field to read public service announcements for the event. WAND will be holding its national conference on May 14-15 in Arlington, Massachusetts.

**Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**, United States Section, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

WILPF began as a suffrage group in 1915 and has grown into a multi-issue organization with 15,000 members in the United States and with chapters in 26 countries worldwide. In 1975 the group hosted a women's disarmament seminar at the United Nations; currently, WILPF is one of the organizers of the Seneca Falls Peace Camp. Earlier this year it sponsored the Stop the Arms Race (STAR) Campaign, where women were asked to sign a registration card and donate a dollar to "buck the arms race." On March 8, 15,000 women left hundreds of thousands of these cards at NATO headquarters in Brussels.

From June 15-19, WILPF will be holding its biennial open meeting called "Women United in Action for Peace" in Haverford, Pennsylvania.

**Women Strike for Peace**, 145 South 13th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 923-0861.

WSP started in 1961 when 100,000 women came together to protest atmospheric nuclear tests conducted by the United States and the Soviet Union. It has been a leader in antinuclear activities ever since. WSP members lobbied the UN Disarmament Committee in Geneva (1962), initiated International Demand Disarmament Day (1974), delivered 100,000 signatures to President Carter demanding disarmament (1979), and erected antinuclear billboards in seven states (1980).

WSP is currently sponsoring a nationwide petition campaign to tell the President that Americans refuse to become nuclear casualties. The group publishes regular legislative alerts, newsletters, fact sheets, and pamphlets, and is in the process of instituting formal membership procedures.

military officers and Gold Star Wives, among others—as well as some defense critics and arms control experts. The 250 women who attended heard a succession of defense luminaries, including Caspar Weinberger and Jeanne Kirkpatrick, most of whom gave simplified presentations accompanied by patronizing jokes and asides to "you ladies." The speakers seemed shocked by the response.

"It was incredible to watch," says Jane Sharp, who attended the conference. "These guys didn't know what hit them. Women challenged their views of history, their figures, and their strategies. At a reception following the program, men came up to us and said they were surprised because 'you girls have really done your homework.'"

"The Pentagon," Weiss points out, "thinks women are a threat. If they didn't they would never have put on such a show for women only."

## EXPLODING THE MYTHS

That a male-dominated society should discriminate against women is, of course, not surprising. Indeed, Mary Kaldor, Britain's foremost female peace activist and scholar, believes that male-dominated institutions don't reserve their contempt for women only—they treat the entire peace movement with the kind of disdain generally reserved for women.

"If you listen to the male, military establishment's arguments against the peace movement, you realize that they view the movement rather like they view women," Kaldor says. "They say we're well-intentioned but misguided and muddle-headed people who really don't know what we're talking about. They say we're utopian dreamers, idealists, too emotional, not rational. What they do is try to feminize the movement so they can dismiss it."

Fortunately, both the peace movement and the women who are some of its most hardy advocates are fighting back. The disarmament movement has proven that it is a force for social and political change. And within it, women insist that the struggle for acceptance and for an end to war are not—as some would argue—separate and unequal battles.

As Cora Weiss argues, "This movement is about exploding myths. It's about exploding the myth that we need nuclear weapons and that we thrive in a militarized economy. And it's about exploding the myth that only men are able to fully solve our problems and formulate the terms of the debate." —Suzanne Gordon

*Suzanne Gordon is the author of Off Balance: The Real World of Ballet, to be published this month by Pantheon.*



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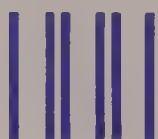


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—Dr. Helen Caldicott

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# The Greenham of America

**D**uring a drive west across the New York State Thruway, and then south on narrow roads through the Finger Lakes region, three women travelling in a mustard-colored Toyota on a rainy Monday afternoon in March witnessed a recurring scene. The roadside cafeterias and town diners in this largely rural area were empty but for a handful of people who sat with their hands propped in front of them on the counter or tabletop, holding a cigarette or cup of coffee. Friendly conversations about a carburetor job or the foul weather took place under hand-done signs hanging on the walls, advertising fresh-baked cookies and the upcoming lake trout derby.

The travellers were planning an event that would bring new signs to the area this summer—signs that would protest the storage of nuclear weapons in the region, signs that would say “Stop” to the deployment of American missiles in Europe. The women, Donna Cooper, Betty Schulman and Michelle Crone, are three of the organizers of the Seneca Falls women’s peace camp, the first peace camp to be pitched in the United States.

The purpose of the camp is to protest the storage of nuclear weapons and the possible transfer by cargo jet of Pershing II missiles from the nearby Seneca Army Depot (SEAD) to Europe. Shipment of the missiles out of SEAD may begin some time after the camp’s scheduled opening on July 4, although planners are concerned that the army might move earlier in anticipation of the protest.

Formal organizational support for the camp is scheduled to run from July 4 through September 16, although it is anticipated that individual campers may carry on the camp indefinitely. Planners expect hundreds of women to be at the camp at peak points over the summer.

Unlike the peace camp at Greenham Common, England, the camp outside SEAD will be legal. Donations from individuals and organizations will finance the purchase of land for the camp so that campers will not face eviction and arrest.

Illegal encampments on SEAD grounds are anticipated, however, and it is expected that the legal camp will act as a support system for the illegal campers, providing everything from food to new recruits.

“We’re going right there where the missiles are,” says organizer Donna Cooper, “and we’re going to say the missiles are not going to leave.”

## HOW IT ALL BEGAN

Organized opposition to nuclear activities at the depot began in 1981 with the formation of The Finger Lakes Peace Alliance (FLPA), a coalition of people who had learned that nuclear weapons were stored at SEAD.

foot, underground, temperature-controlled building in which plutonium can be stored.

Small towns with populations ranging from 4000-10,000 cluster around SEAD, places with names like Romulus, Varick, and Waterloo. The larger upstate cities



Organizers Eberlein, Cooper and Crone in front of house on prospective campsite

In a fact sheet it later published, FLPA stated that explosive nuclear material used in the Manhattan Project was stored in SEAD’s underground bunkers in 1944. Discovered to be radioactive in 1980, these bunkers have since been sealed off. Short-range (tactical) nuclear weapons have been stored at the camp since 1957, according to FLPA. In 1961 the U.S. Army began using SEAD as its take-off point for distributing nuclear weapons and repair parts in the United States and abroad. A planning document put out by the Departments of Defense and Energy identifies SEAD as the only nuclear munitions transshipment point in the East.

Official verification of all this is prohibited by Army policy to neither confirm nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons. According to a SEAD spokeswoman, the storage site at the depot consists of 455 “igloos” for conventional weapons. But the FLPA fact sheet claims that between 60 and 70 of them are reinforced underground bunkers. It also asserts that SEAD has a 28,000 square-

of Geneva, Elmira, Ithaca, Syracuse and Rochester form an outer perimeter. The depot employs approximately 800 civilians from the local area.

The idea of a women’s peace camp to protest SEAD first came up at the Global Feminist Disarmament Conference held at Barnard College in New York, the day before the June 12 rally in 1982. The conference was attended by hundreds of women from feminist organizations and feminist coalitions within peace groups.

About 20 organizations have given money and/or organizing support to the camp. They represent a mixture of national groups such as the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the American Friends Service Committee, and Church Women United and local groups such as Boston Women Against Militarism, the Finger Lakes Peace Council, and *Akwesasne Notes*, a Native American newspaper.

A process of decision-making by consensus has been employed throughout the planning, reflecting an adherence to now-traditional feminist principles. And



the camp will be located on historically solid feminist and pacifist ground. In 1590 Iroquois women met at Seneca to caucus for an end to war among the nation's tribes, and in 1848 a young Seneca Falls housewife, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, called the first women's rights convention in her home town and drew a crowd of hundreds from miles around.

#### GOING TO THE COUNTRY

One of the main organizers of this year's women's gathering at Seneca Falls is Donna Cooper, 24-year-old national program director for WILPF. At 6 a.m. on Monday, March 28, Cooper boarded a train out of Philadelphia where WILPF's national headquarters is located. She was on her way to a two-day meeting in upstate New York to look over possible campsites for the peace camp. In New York she crossed town to Grand Central Station and at 9:30 boarded a train to Albany. As the train rolled through a foggy Hudson River Valley, Cooper talked about ways in which she thinks the peace camp will differ tactically from other antinuclear movement activities, namely the freeze.

Criticizing the freeze's new focus on Washington, D.C., Cooper said, "I think the legislative handle is done." While calling the freeze "the base of the movement," and noting her own active participation in it, Cooper said that the continued emphasis on passing a freeze resolution side-tracked the real purpose of the freeze.

"The reason the freeze was developed was not to get referenda passed," she commented, "but to create an awareness in this country about nuclear weapons so that we could move away from militarism." Cooper feels legislative lobbying can have a negative effect on freeze supporters. "I think it is disempowering for people to keep calling up a representative or senator they know is going to reject the freeze," Cooper said, adding that it would be more productive for those people to be out meeting other people and raising popular support.

Because the peace camp will bring people together for the purpose of carrying out direct political actions, Donna believes it will be "empowering" for the people who are involved. "We're not going to lobby the Army, we're not going to lobby Congress," Cooper explains. "We're just going to go there and say 'that's not going to happen.'" (She suggests that men set up their own camps elsewhere to protest the cruise missile while the women at the peace camp are keeping a watch on the Pershing II).

But before the camp could begin to accomplish any of the goals Cooper talked



Roadside view of property that extends back to Seneca Army Depot

about, a preliminary and difficult detail came first—finding the land. With that purpose in mind, Cooper would, later that day, drive across upstate New York with Betty Schulman and Michelle Crone, two independent feminist peace activists from Albany.

#### THE LAY OF THE LAND

After a three-hour drive through snow-brushed country, Schulman pulled her car up in front of a small, weather-beaten clapboard house with a for-sale sign hung on the front. It stood on land that had been found by organizers from Rochester Women's Action for Peace.

Unlike the well-sodded field across the road, the two front plots of the land for sale were rain-drenched mud flats. Undaunted, the planners slogged across it, at times sinking over their ankles in mud. Behind the front lots they found two more lots hemmed in by trees that formed an enclosure the women thought would serve as the campsite. Behind the rear lots was a gravel drainage ditch, a shallow wooded area, and then the property abutted on a portion of the Depot's 11,000-acre property.

Satisfaction with the site was unanimous at a meeting that night with Rochester Women's Action for Peace members Marcia Craig, Kris Eberlein and Mary Streb. Everyone seemed anxious for a decision but all details concerning the land, from drainage to security to legal advice, were turned over for careful inspection like so many eggs in a carton.

But by midnight, the expected decision to begin negotiations on the land was made, and the women set plans to go back down to Seneca County the next day.

The next morning was sunny and cold. After breakfast in a Rochester diner, Mary Streb left the planners to put in a day of house painting, her off-season employment while the race tracks where she works as a horse-trainer are closed. But the other two Rochester planners, Eberlein and Craig, joined the carload to Seneca.

In Seneca the group split up. Two women went off to do research at the local planning and development office while Cooper, Crone and Eberlein began their work as the land-negotiating committee.

After a phone call to their prospective landlords, the three organizers stopped at the roomy, well-kept white farmhouse where the owner lived with her husband. During a 20-minute meeting with the couple, the organizers minimized the political aspects of the camp, presenting it more as a summer camp for women that would have "educational activities." (Before the meeting the women had agreed to hold off on giving a complete description of the camp until negotiations became more serious.)

During the meeting the couple was polite but guarded until Eberlein gave as a reference the name of a local woman, Shirley Doherty, a peace activist and a 10-year member of the American Friends Service Committee Upstate Executive



Committee. "I know her," the husband said, "she's been to our church."

Within half an hour all five organizers had rejoined and were on their way to pay Doherty a call. "Everyone gets sent to me when they come to do peace work here because I'm known as *the* peace person in the area," Doherty told the women sitting in her living room. "But I have to live here, so my name and my integrity are very important to me." Her usual channel of organizing is through the 64 Presbyterian churches in the Central New York area, of which her husband is executive presbyter.

Doherty explained that while she is radical in comparison to most of the people living in the area, she believes in "meeting people where they are politically." Doherty told the organizers that she would "advocate that the owners pursue negotiations with you, but I will leave it up to you to give them a better explanation of how you want to use the land."

When asked how she would feel if, later in the summer, she didn't like the way the camp was going or how it was affecting the local community, Doherty said, "I will make it clear then that I disassociate myself." While Doherty expressed support for the camp and took an interest in upcoming planning meetings in the area, she made it clear that her first priority was protecting the name and reputation that allowed her to do extremely delicate local political work in a conservative part of the country.



SEAD entrance. Background tower carries motto: "Mission First, People Always"

#### STAKING OUT TERRITORY

Later that afternoon as Cooper, Crone and Schulman drove back to Albany they talked about their expectations for the camp. Campers, they said, should come prepared to be self-sufficient. The only things provided for them will be land, water and "Port-O-Janes". Planners want the campers to initiate their own forms of political protest, although daily leaflettings outside SEAD and special days such as August 6, Hiroshima Day, will be organized ahead of time.

Throughout the two-day trip the words "Greenham Common" punctuated discussions of the Seneca camp like an inspirational refrain. But the Seneca camp will be different, not only because it will own the campsite, but just as importantly, because it has been planned well in advance. The Greenham Common protest was essentially spontaneous, begun by a core group of four women. The Seneca camp will have been planned for a year, by a core of 40.

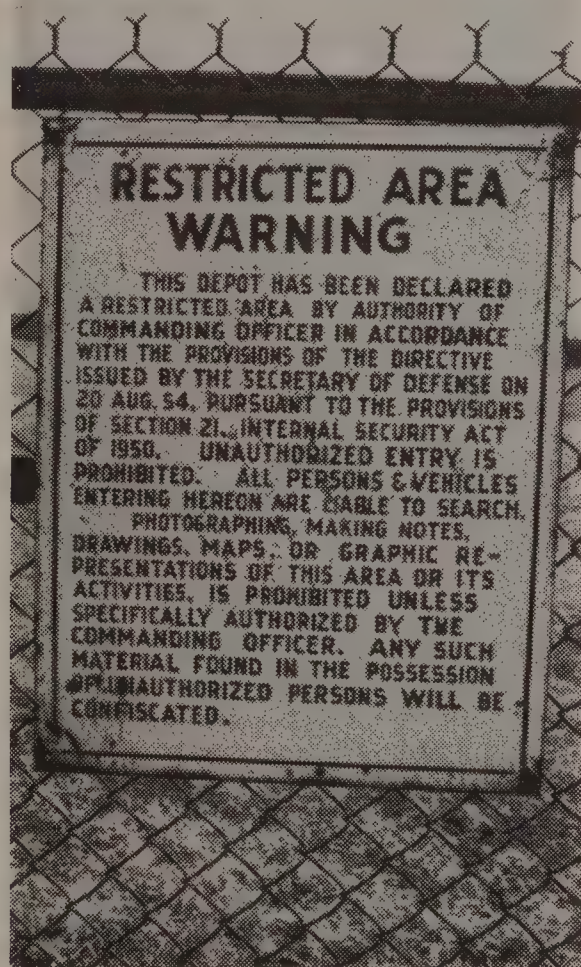
As a result, the Seneca camp has raised questions of lifestyle and secondary agenda among the campers. In a meeting held in late March in New York, for example, 15 women from various peace groups attended a Women of Color Caucus to discuss their participation in the camp. Putting the issue of racism up front as one of the weekly educational themes of the camp and celebrating Harriet Tubman's house as a Seneca Falls landmark will be important to them.

Unlike the women who started

Greenham Common who have been identified primarily as wives and mothers, many of the women planning Seneca are neither. A significant number of feminist lesbians are expected at Seneca, and it is considered likely that they will want recognition and political validity as such. The active presence of this faction at the camp may be an issue in itself for some "straight" women, and the feminist philosophy underlying the camp may trouble some women whose overriding concern is disarmament. But the presence of women whose main affiliation is with a church, and women who are middle-aged mothers, is expected to create a fairly traditional influence, and one which the more radical women at the camp will have to respect. Some women will come to Seneca accompanied by husbands and boyfriends, and for them the planners are reserving space at the nearby Sampson State Park.

But for all, the planners are hoping, the camp will be a place where women can meet each other on common ground. Staging direct actions and carrying on educational activities will be the order of the day, but the planners hope that women will also be able to seriously discuss their long-range goals at the camp. One goal, mentioned off and on by the planners during the trip, probably seems as far-fetched now as the idea of women's suffrage when presented at the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention in 1848: the dismantling of all nuclear weapons.

—Corinna Gardner



"Stop" sign on SEAD fence



GREENHAM WOMEN

# Why They Will Not Be Moved

Over a year and a half ago, a largely Welsh group of women and children marched to Greenham Common Air Force Base, 70 miles west of London, to protest plans to deploy 96 U.S. cruise missiles there later this year. The all-women peace camp that grew out of that march has withstood continuous harassment, evictions, arrests and miserable living conditions. Last December, 30,000 women from all over the world converged on Greenham to link arms and surround the base in a "celebration of life."

Since then, the campers' protest actions have included dancing on top of a missile silo, holding a sit-in on the roof of the prison where other campers were detained, and obstructing construction efforts at the base. Several groups of women underwent trial last month on charges of blockading the highway to the base.

In the following interview held during their recent visit to the United States, two of the campers, Simone Wilkinson and Susan Lamb, describe the demonstrations and the reasons behind their fierce determination to continue protesting until plans to deploy cruise missiles are abandoned.

The interview was conducted by Robert Musil, co-producer of SANE's nationally syndicated radio program, "Consider the Alternatives", on which parts of this interview were broadcast during the last week of April.

## Can you explain how the camp got started?

LAMB: The original march to Greenham [one and a half years ago] came out of a Welsh woman's idea. She saw that the movement was talking in very intellectual terms, when what the women in our country are worried about is their children's lives. And so she decided to organize a march of women with their children across England, to talk to people along the way and get discussion going over whether we actually wanted cruise missiles in our country.

WILKINSON: There were 40 women who marched with their children; that was very unusual at that time. They thought that would raise the issue publicly but they were totally ignored by the media. It didn't make one newspaper, one television program. They had originally planned to have just a rally when they got to Greenham, but they were so

angry at being totally ignored that some women chained themselves across the main gate. They told one of the security police, "We're chained to the gate as a protest." And he said, "Well, as far as we're concerned, you can stay there for good." And I think he must have regretted those words many times because that is exactly what they have done.

When they arrived, their only demand



Peace campers Lamb and Wilkinson

was for a publicly televised debate on the nuclear issue between the women of our country and the nation's leaders. They've never been granted that debate. Three weeks ago, the Minister of Defense, Michael Heseltine, said that there was no point in having such a debate because these people [the protestors] have closed minds. These people are the 65 percent of the women in Britain who don't want cruise missiles.

## You were arrested last August . . .

WILKINSON: We had been evicted from the peace camp three times and each time the local council people who were evicting us regarded us as a local issue, as a dispute over their piece of land. We maintained all along that we were there in protest and should be recognized as such. We decided to actually take the protest onto the base. [On August 27] 19 women walked onto the base and were arrested for an "act likely to cause a breach of the peace."

LAMB: The evidence against us was that an American wife of an American serviceman was delayed 20 minutes from doing her shopping at an American supermarket in Britain. They said that because we were there that woman could have lost her temper and, hit someone

and for that I had to spend a fortnight in prison.

**Even though the base is called Royal Air Force Greenham Common, it's not an entirely British base is it?**

WILKINSON: The base used to be called U.S. Air Force Greenham Common. They changed all the signs to RAF to play down the American presence in Great Britain. We have 104 American bases in Great Britain—a country that is the size of one of your states. And so that presence is very much played down, but they are American bases and those are American servicemen who work on them.

LAMB: When our government first announced the coming of cruise missiles they said they would be sited in East Anglia. They were corrected by the American government. We can't even choose where in our country they're to be sited. In a recent poll, 65 percent of the women in our country and 61 percent of the overall population were against the deployment and no one seems to be taking any notice of it. Yet, we're continually told that we're living in a democracy and I ask you what freedom *have* we got over our own affairs when we cannot even decide what weapons systems we adopt to defend ourselves.

**How did you manage to eventually get 30,000 women involved at Greenham Common?**

LAMB: We just did it. After 23 women were sent to prison [last November] it created such an uproar in our country that we got thousands of letters from all over the country from women saying, "we're going to be there on December 12 with you." Chain letters were sent out, and women just came. We originally didn't know if there would be enough women to surround the base, but we had enough to go one and three-quarters times around that base.

WILKINSON: People just arrived from all over the country—the roads were blocked for miles. People came by train, by bus, by any means that they could manage to get there. The one thing that people were told was to come as self-sufficient as possible, and most people did that. They brought their own camping equipment and their own food.

That base has a 9-mile radius; the women surrounded it and they decorated the fence with symbols of life that were



precious to them. They brought baby clothes, photographs of their children or their grandmothers. They brought poems, letters, any token of life that was meaningful to them. Some women picked grasses and wove the words "Peace" in and out of the fence and the whole 9-mile fence was completely decorated with these celebrations of life. And in the evening, candles were lit right around the perimeter of the base; it was really very moving. The women just held hands and sang songs and when the police cars were whizzing past inside, the women made a noise like a primeval scream against what was happening in the world.

But more important than the 30,000 who came and the tremendous age range of people were the 4000 who stayed behind overnight to take part in civil disobedience. Four thousand women sat down and blockaded that base. Some of them were breast-feeding their children, some of them had toddlers, and some of them were very old women.

**What was the impact of all that in Britain?**

WILKINSON: For me, the impact was that I knew cruise missiles were not going to come to my country because everyone there had made a commitment to say, "I'm not going to allow the deployment to happen."

LAMB: Over 90 percent of the British people now know what cruise missiles are: now that is an enormous change since last year when only 10 percent knew what a cruise missile is. What we're doing is opening up people's minds so that they actually talk about the matter.

What I put on the fence when I went there was a letter that my six-year-old daughter sent me when I was in prison. It was full of statements like "We don't want bombs in this world. I want to grow up. I want to live in peace." That is simply and utterly why I am doing this and that is why all the other women in our country are against the missiles. We're not interested any longer in what our governments are telling us about the "other side." We haven't had a war with Russia; why should we consider them such a threat to our lives? And if it's true that Russian mothers can't voice their fears then I feel even more obligated to voice them for all those women, because I have the freedom to speak it.

WILKINSON: We are told that these weapons have given us freedom and peace for the last 35 years. We are not living in peace: the people of the Third World are not living in peace, the people in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile are not living in peace. To say that we are living in peace because of these weapons is an incredibly racist statement.

**You have mentioned that you originally weren't ready to join the march. You could have taken other options or organized groups.**



**Police removing women blockading the Greenham Common base last December**

WILKINSON: I *did* start with other options. I got to a point of such total despair that my husband said, "If you feel that strongly, you'd better do something." So I did join a local CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament] group. They were people who were working very hard but what struck me more and more about that group and others was that they weren't getting the message across to people who were not involved in CND. It seemed to be incongruous to talk about a yearly march when we were threatened with the annihilation of this planet.

Because I don't live in Wales, I didn't hear of the march to Greenham Common in 1981 until three weeks later. When I did visit with a friend I found women there who shared my hopes and fears. And they weren't talking in political terms, they weren't excluding me because I didn't have the knowledge about the political situation. They understood my fears. And I realized that we could actually go out and change what was happening in our world.

LAMB: What is remarkably different about the women's peace movement is that we are not joining organizations to ban nuclear weapons; we've each made a personal commitment and taken the responsibility upon *ourselves* to actually get out there and stop them. *I am going to stop the missiles, I am going to stop the nuclear destruction of this planet. I am responsible for it because it is my money that is paying for these weapons and it is my silence that has condoned their building. And I am going to do everything within my power to stop this insanity.*

**How about personal costs? People say sometimes, "I'd like to do more for peace, but I have a job, children, family."**

LAMB: It's very difficult. Especially the last few days I've been missing my children terribly. But if I don't do what I'm doing, then I'm condemning my chil-

dren to death.

WILKINSON: When we as mothers are carrying our children, we are told that we should drink milk and eat the right food and not smoke cigarettes, and after our babies are born we are told how we should take care of them and educate them. What society is saying is that we are responsible for the safe passage of that life into adulthood. Well, we're picking up that responsibility, and not just for our own children, but for the children of this world so that they *can* grow up.

**What about your husband—has it strained relations with him?**

WILKINSON: When my husband told me to join the local peace group, I really think he thought in terms of just a monthly meeting and a yearly march, and it hasn't turned out like that. We did reach a point in our marriage—and it was a real shock to me—when he actually said, "Look, we might as well not be married because you're never here," and it was like cold water in my face. I thought about it and I said to him, "if what you're saying to me is that you want a divorce, then you will have to take that step. I can't stop what I'm doing because I love you and my children too much." I cannot sit at home and be sealing their death warrant. I would rather know that they are distanced from me and have some future than sit at home and do nothing about it.

It was a real turning point for both of us and he is now fully supportive of what I'm doing. Traditionally in our country, men have gone away to fight wars, and the women have stayed at home to look after the children. Well, now the men are staying at home to look after the children and the women are going away to fight for peace.

**Why don't we talk briefly about some of the international links. This is not just a British movement.**

LAMB: There have been demonstrations outside of the British embassies in



Sweden and other countries in support of the women who are now in prison. There have also been women from other countries in British prisons for protesting against cruise missiles. It seems we're reaching a pitch where everyone realizes the acute danger we're living in.

**WILKINSON:** In this country there is a women's peace camp planned at Seneca Falls. There should be plans for peace camps to mimic the Greenham Common action of embracing bases, and for women and children to go and embrace the White House. When you get enough women there, surround the Pentagon and link the two, make the connection. You've just got to get the women there and go and do it.

**LAMB:** Also, May 24 is Women's International Day for Disarmament, and the women of Britain and Europe are working together to have local demonstrations all across our countries. And it would be very nice if the American women organized themselves and did that too. It seems to me that wherever we've been in the United States, we've been very close to a military installation. So wherever you live in the United States, just go out and make the links yourselves.

**What have you been trying to tell Americans?**

**WILKINSON:** We've been trying to stress the message that we are not anti-American. We are anti-Reagan's policies, anti-Thatcher's policies, and anti-Soviet policy. But we are not against any of those people. That is one of the strongest messages we wanted to get across, because the propaganda machine has been playing up that we are anti-American when we are not.

**Is there anything else you want to say?**

**LAMB:** When I came into the peace movement and started to become active I did so because of my child's fear of airplanes and thinking that she was going to be bombed by them. It was my child's fear that triggered me. She has no fear anymore, because as she sees it, the person that she most trusts and is most dependent upon in this world is out doing something about it. So she is quite convinced that I can sort out the government and get rid of cruise missiles—no problem!

**WILKINSON:** And if nothing else, we owe that to our children because—I don't know about your country—but the kids in our country are absolutely desperate. They've got no employment, their education has been cut, they're leaving school with no hope of a future, and they've got this [nuclear] threat hanging over them. We owe it to them to put hope back into their lives. □

## TOUCHING BASE

# Common Place Occurrences

**W**omen's space," says the painted sign. "Men go to Aldermaston and Burghfield." On the stony ground sit groups of women, looking down on an endless stream of demonstrators and buses blocking the lane. One group is weaving itself together with colored wools, quietly singing: "We like the flowers, We like the daffodils, We want to live in a nuclear-free society."

Royal Air Force Greenham Common, home of the U.S. Air Force's 501st Tactical Missile Wing, lies deep in the heart of rural Berkshire, some 70 miles west of London. Ninety-six American cruise missiles are to be deployed here by the end of this year. But on April 2 this seems to be a long way off.

Over 30 women, sitting down to block the main gate, are singing again: "We are the women of Greenham, and it's for Greenham we're fighting." A blockade of all eight gates, supported by the women's peace camp, began early the previous day. Twice the police have broken through, escorting workers who are putting the finishing touches on the new missile silos.

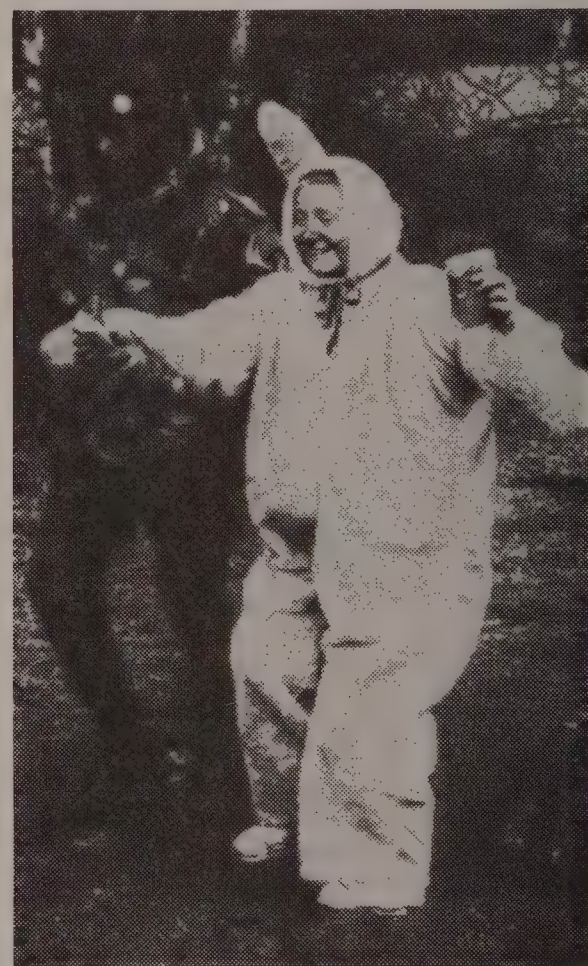
Sitting astride a gatepost, a young woman is playing a recorder. Someone in the crowd is beating a drum in time with the singing. The 10-foot-high wire fence, topped with barbed wire, sports daffodils and is threaded through with ribbons and spider's webs woven in wool. "We've been here for 34 hours," shouts someone. "That's how strong we are!" A high-pitched, ear-piercing victory wail goes up.

From Greenham it's a 14-mile walk to the village of Burghfield, where Britain makes its own nuclear weapons, and where a blockade by both women and men began April 1. Most of the protesters have come to form a human chain between the two sites, passing by Aldermaston, the nuclear weapons research facility, on the way along the valley of the Kennet River—dubbed "Nuclear Valley" by the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). CND organized the chain, but the Greenham Common actions were organized by the women's camp.

Cheerful chaos prevails, but it works. Normally there are anywhere between 30 and 50 women at the Greenham camp, coming and going as they can. The constant turnover, the lack of any organizational hierarchy and the mobility of the camp have so far foiled the various at-

tempts of the authorities to permanently evict the women, though the legal battles are continuing. From the trees hang the polythene sheets under which they passed the winter when the local council ruled that they could not erect tents.

Many of the women in the Easter weekend actions first came down in December, when an estimated 30,000 turned up in freezing weather to link arms around the base's 9-mile perimeter fence. "It was the nearest thing to a religious experience," says one elderly lady, "So moving. And now I've come back. This camp is here for all of us."



**Protester, dressed as Easter bunny, escorted from base after scaling fence**

"You can tell a Greenham woman," says a middle-aged mother in a woolly hat with feminist symbols painted on her cheeks. "They don't all look the same, but you can tell. There's no holding back. Instantly supportive and strong, we are." She had been prompted to paint her face after a man selling a socialist newspaper called her a "girl."

Suddenly, from the gate, a victory wailing breaks out, people are running to the fence. A woman is on top of the barbed wire, climbing down the other side. Others are squeezing through the gate. Wailing, hugging and kissing, they sing: "She is like a mountain, She is old



and strong, She goes on and on and on!" as two women, holding hands, are marched into a sentry box. Earlier, some went over dressed as teddy bears and Easter bunnies, to picnic on April Fool's Day. After a similar action on New Year's Day, 34 women spent two weeks in prison. "The first time you do anything," one woman comments, "You're sure you'll get arrested. But then again, nothing's worse than nuclear war, is it?"

Male film crews skulk around the periphery. One gets too close. "This is a women's space. Respect it!" shouts someone angrily. Why women only? "Because women have their own way of doing things." "Because we need to develop new methods to avoid old mistakes." "Because the authorities don't know how to deal with us."

"What I want to see," says one woman, "is a men-only peace camp. Why don't you go and start one?"

At about 2 p.m. the chain is apparently linked between Greenham Common and Burghfield, though no one seems to be sure. A flare goes up, another ear-piercing wail, some desultory balloons. The flow of demonstrators in the lane reverses.

"Thank you for coming, thank you for coming," says a peace camper dancing in the road before the departing families, "from the women of Greenham Common." She adds, "This has been a shot in the arm, but people have to go home and start their own actions. Thank you for coming! We'll be here tomorrow. And the next day. And the day after that. And as long as it takes."

An estimated 50-70,000 people turned up. Defense Minister Michael Heseltine, back from a strategically-timed trip to Berlin, called them "naive and reckless." But photographs of 14 miles of linked arms have revitalized public debate on the cruise and Trident missiles, already stimulated by President Reagan's "Star Wars" speech. CND plans to follow up with a countrywide door-to-door "Peace Canvas," aimed at enlisting support and encouraging discussion. Furthermore, a large number of CND's moderate supporters have now seen at firsthand the techniques of nonviolent direct action. The Greenham Common Peace Camp and the blockades have shown people how to say "No." This time 192 women went over the fence. Next time there may be more.

—Jonathan Birchall

## WEST GERMANY

# Will Greens Gain Allies?

For the second straight year, West Germany's antinuclear weapons movement has staged a massive series of nationwide Easter marches in protest against the planned stationing of 204 U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in the country later this year. Most of the marches went through several cities. Many ended in civil disobedience actions at NATO bases.

The marches, which drew 400,000 people into the streets, came on the heels of the opening of Parliament. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative coalition, which won decisively in national elections two months ago, is committed to deploying the missiles. Equally committed to opposing them is the Green party, which won parliamentary seats for the first time ever. One Green parliamentarian, former NATO army general Gert Bastian, was dragged away with 200 other protesters who were blockading the entrance to the U.S. military depot in Neu-Ulm.

Although the Greens are heavily outnumbered in Parliament by Kohl's coalition, the large Easter marches indicate that the odds against them are not so lopsided. Furthermore, a large number of demonstrators were supporters of the

Social Democratic Party (SPD), which may before long announce opposition to the missiles. In an Easter rally in Cologne, Oskar Lafontaine, a leader of the party's left wing, called for a withdrawal from NATO and solidarity with the U.S. peace movement.

The ruling coalition claims that its election victory is a mandate for continuing an unambiguously pro-U.S. defense policy, but, in fact, Kohl's party barely mentioned the missiles during the election campaign. Thus, as one of the Green party leaders, Björn-Uwe Rahlwe said on election night, there are many people who reject the missiles in spite of having voted for the conservative coalition for their stands on other issues. Polls indicate that Rahlwe is right; as much as 70 percent of the country is opposed to the missile plan.

Nonetheless, there are serious strains within the movement. The main one concerns participation of the pro-Soviet German Communist Party (DKP) in the peace movement. In the Green's leadership, perhaps the most vehement opponent to the DKP is Rudolf Bahro, a former political prisoner in East Germany who helped to make sure that DKP representatives were not invited to the large European Nuclear Disarmament conference this month in Berlin. However, as long as the cruise and Pershing missiles remain an immediate threat, no crippling polarization is expected.

—Phil Hill

## Nuclear Survival Films



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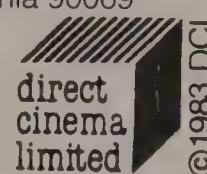
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# A Freeze On Weapons—Or Nunn?

A political movement first knows that it's making its mark when the mandarins of the Establishment begin to co-opt its postures, slogans and ideas. Such is the case today with the antinuclear movement, as everyone from once-hawkish senators to Ronald Reagan to Henry Kissinger scramble in line to declare their own versions of a disarmament blueprint.

But members of the movement, viewing this spectacle of born-again arms control advocates, should not assume that success is therefore just around the bend. For most of the new arms-control proposals offered as "alternatives" to the freeze have, as their ulterior and ultimate motive, the legitimization of every new strategic weapon on the drawing board and the extinction of the popular movement against the Bomb.

The clearest case in point is the new "interim proposal" offered by President Reagan on intermediate-range weapons. Once adamant in his "zero-zero" position, the President, in his March 30 speech, modified his stance: the Soviets will dismantle some (preferably many) of their SS-4, -5, and -20 missiles; the United States will deploy some—again, preferably many, though not as many as originally intended—of its Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles. At the end of this process the two superpowers will have equal numbers of intermediate-range ballistic missile warheads worldwide.

The Soviets unequivocally rejected this plan because French and British missiles that can strike the Soviet Union would be excluded from the count while Soviet missiles aimed at China would be included. Thus, to the Soviets, this ostensibly equitable plan would, in fact, give the West superiority in numbers. The Soviets are not to be congratulated for their inflexibility at the arms-talks table, but it must be recognized that Reagan made this proposal knowing that the Soviets would certainly turn it down.

In Congress, the co-option games are proliferating as well. One of the favorites, endorsed by over 40 senators, is the bipartisan Nunn-Cohen solution, named after its sponsors, Senators Sam Nunn and William Cohen. Representative Elliott Levitas has taken up this cause in the House, with a resolution co-spon-

sored by the likes of Ike Skelton and Newt Gingrich. This is not a dovish bunch. Indeed, Nunn was perhaps responsible more than any other person for the defeat of the SALT II Treaty in 1979. He has softened his position since, and has quite clearly become more skeptical of military wisdom. However, the "build-down" arms-control proposal, as he and Cohen call it, is pretty transparent.

The idea is that for every *new* warhead each side deploys, it must dismantle two *existing* warheads. Thus, each new MX with 10 warheads must be accompanied by the ripping apart of, say, 20 Titan II or six Minuteman IIIs (which carry three warheads each) and two Minuteman II. Thus, new systems come on line only at the expense of losing twice as many older weapons.

This idea is preferable to an unabashed strategic buildup, or indeed to Reagan's START proposal. But who can ignore the fact that the effect—and, many skeptics on Capitol Hill suspect, the intent—of this measure is to sanction and legitimize, to bless under the false rubric of "arms control," the development and deployment of every new strategic weapon imaginable? Most members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—or their Soviet counterparts—would readily exchange older weapons for new missiles that can "fight" a nuclear war twice as proficiently.

The one arms-control idea making the rounds on the Hill that seems unfettered by opportunism—at least as far as its progenitor is concerned—is being promoted by Representative Albert Gore, Jr. His idea is to build a mobile, accurate, single-warhead ICBM to replace the aging Minuteman II and then negotiate with the Soviets to dismantle gradually all of the multiple-warhead missiles in each side's arsenal.

Gore claims, quite rightly, that such a step would make the arms competition much more "stable." Back in the 1960s, a first-strike would have been almost impossible because if one side tried to build enough missiles to make a go at it, the other could simply match that buildup. An arsenal of missiles cannot successfully attack an enemy's arsenal of equal size. However, with multiple, independently-targeted warheads (MIRVs) on each missile, one missile can knock out several enemy missiles. That's where the fear (however irrational) of preemptive at-

tack comes in—which has been one of the main forces driving the arms race over the past decade or so. Moving back to the pre-MIRV age would make nuclear preemption less attractive and nuclear war therefore less likely.

Gore's approach has its pitfalls: It means another new weapon system, and if all the others—especially MX and Trident II—are not halted at the same time, it could fit easily into a first-strike scheme. However, the Gore plan is *relatively* laudable and it has captured the imaginations of many arms-control experts who fear that a nuclear freeze might eventually favor the side that possesses the newer set of nuclear arms (i.e., the Soviets) and that the freeze would do nothing to "enhance stability." But a specter is haunting the Gore plan: Henry Kissinger.

In the March 21 *Time*, Kissinger outlined an arms-control plan which, if politics were literature, would constitute criminal plagiarism of Gore's ideas. When Kissinger backs something, however, that usually means it's about to be exploited in some politically unsavory manner.

A good many hawkish politicians are rushing to embrace Gore's plan as a way to rescue the otherwise doomed fate of the MX. Their idea is to strike a rather sloppy political bargain: We'll support development of *your* "stabilizing" single-warhead missile (often called "Midgetman") if you give *us* at least some big MX missiles. This compromise has been suggested by a coalition-eager crowd ranging from members of the presidentially-appointed Scowcroft Commission to, rather uncharacteristically, Representative Les Aspin.

If this bargain is indeed struck, many observers doubt whether Gore's fundamental arms-control notions will be taken very seriously in its wake. Gore's plan would weaken the counterforce strength of the U.S. and Soviet arsenals; and it is clear that practically no one in either side's military leadership—and not all that many in the U.S. Congress—want that to happen.

Arms control is often used as a political tool, as a method of broadening support for the arms buildup that political and military leaders really desire. They fear the freeze because the freeze says, simply: Stop. □



INTERVIEW WITH SEYMOUR MELMAN

# "Leap Of Imagination" Needed

Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University in New York, is an influential writer and lecturer about the military industry and its effects on society. He has written and edited 15 books on the subject, including *Pentagon Capitalism* and *The Permanent War Economy*. In 1958 he became a member of *Citizens for a SANE World* and now acts as SANE's co-chairman. Some of his work on economic conversion has been brought to Congress by Representative Theodore Weiss in the form of an economic conversion bill—the *Defense Economic Adjustment Act*, H.R. 6618—now before the Committee on Education and Labor.

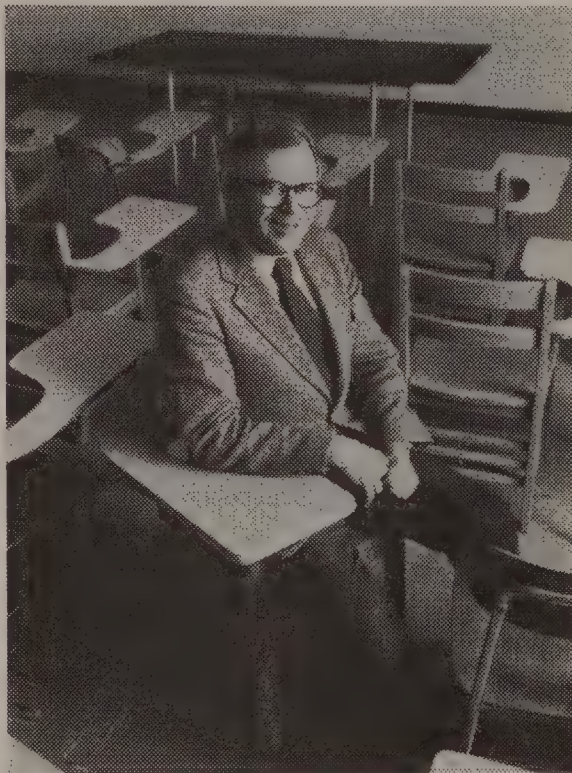
In the following interview Melman discusses antinuclear weapons movement strategies and sketches out his plans for economic conversion. The interview was conducted by Corinna Gardner, managing editor of NUCLEAR TIMES.

## What is your opinion of the political tactics currently employed by the antinuclear weapons movement?

Particular policy moves have been [over the years] the focus of peace group activities: test ban, ABM ban, nuclear free zone, the freeze, no-first-use. Characteristically, the particular weapons system or policy move is perceived as a first step. That's the common slogan. In fact, they haven't been. It's very important to understand why. Nothing is a first step unless subsequent steps are linked to, impelled by, the first step.

Take the case of the test ban, which was a very powerful national movement, at least as potent politically in its time [late 1950s, early 1960s] as the present freeze movement. Why wasn't it a first step? Because the Administration proceeded to emasculate the test ban idea and make it into an *atmospheric* test ban. Furthermore, to get the vote in the Senate, they promised the Senate hawks and the Joint Chiefs more nuclear tests, more money, more R&D than ever before. And they delivered. So the available data tells us that there were *more* nuclear tests after the atmospheric test ban than ever before.

Meanwhile, among the people in the popular movements who had rallied around the idea of a test ban, the fulfillment of the atmospheric test ban was



Melman: Devising a 10-year plan

construed as a win. In fact it was. That is to say, we won something. Less poison in the air, less strontium 90 in the milk. But it was certainly not the first of a sequence of steps. It stopped cold.

## How can the current antinuclear movement avoid a similar experience?

It is now vital to formulate and then to organize around a complete, comprehensive, programmed operation to reverse the entire arms race, because that is the issue, not a particular weapon. We have to confront a reality—that the Pentagon is able to produce new weapons ideas faster than ordinary people can find out about them, let alone organize movements against them. No sooner was the B-1 bomber program defeated [under Jimmy Carter], than the cruise missile was instantly in its place. No sooner will the MX be defeated than the small missile, single-warhead program will be in its place.

The arms race has become deadly dangerous and the danger is not in nuclear weapons *per se*. Conventional weapons have now taken on lethality comparable to nuclear weapons. Explosives like vapor bombs have the quality of generating blast effects within limited zones that are in the nuclear range of effect. Nuclear firepower is now deliverable with conventional weapons. Small aircraft and cannons mounted on tanks can now deliver nuclear weapons. Hence the classic

differentiation between nuclear and conventional forces is rapidly disappearing.

It is the arms race as a whole and not merely nuclear weapons that has to be addressed. Politically this is becoming viable because the fear that has now spread across the United States is not a fear of a single weapon. It is fear that war-making has taken on a lethality that threatens the existence of the human community.

## What are the products of this fear—what effects does it have?

The public, in my judgment, shows a readiness to consider a reversal of the arms race. In a series of meetings from coast-to-coast I've spoken about what took place 21 years ago—how the U.S. government was a formulator and an advocate of general reversal of the arms race, how that proposal was wiped out by the Cuban missile crisis, how thereafter, all the ideas around arms race reversal were caused to go down the memory hole, Orwellian-style. Strategic courses took the place of all discussion in the universities, the discussion of the reversal of the arms race was wiped out from courses in the universities, no research grants were given *at all* for such topics, journals didn't discuss it, no books were written about it—or, if written, not published in the United States on this topic.

Therefore, as two generations of young people came through the universities, trained in the understanding that there was nothing around but the arms race, or the regulation of the arms race—arms control—the very *idea* of the *reversal* of the arms race got lost.

## How can those two decades of inattention to arms race reversal be redressed?

A leap of the imagination is now called for, and is now appropriate and politically viable. SANE is engaged in a careful process of rewriting and updating the U.S. 1962 proposal to make it viable, sensible, hard-head defensible under conditions of 1983. In a three-stage, 10-year scheme it will provide for initiatives by the United States and the Soviet Union on a mutually agreed reversal of the arms race. It will include bringing other countries into the process. The scheme will provide for paralleled verification inspection capability and international arrangements for settling international disputes, which will surely continue to arise among countries.

It's important that the general rever-



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sal of the arms race is probably a 10-year process as it is mapped out. I doubt that it's prudent, politically or technically, to project it for a shorter time than that because of the immense scale of the weapon stockpiles and the industrial systems that are involved.

**As part of the 10-year process, what are the necessary steps for converting our industrial system from a military to civilian economy?**

The crucial steps for conversion are in two parts. Number one, the formation of alternative-use committees at every factory and military base. We have solid grounds for expecting that, when alternative-use committees are set up, they will generate an abundance of ideas on new products and ways of producing them. These committees should have the perspective of making it possible for the people who work in these plants to see the end of a military contract and the close of the base as an opportunity rather than a penalty. The alternative-use committees are paralleled by particular measures to guarantee a maintenance of health insurance, payment for relocation of families to guarantee retraining (especially for engineers and administrators in the military industries), to guarantee income for as much as two years at a reasonable level. All that means that under these conditions the end of the military contract becomes a means of going to work in the civilian economy with a minimum of lost time.

Second, [formation of] a national economic conversion commission, whose main task is to marshal the departments of government to formulate long-range capital investment plans for everything that government is responsible for doing, as in redoing the infrastructure. The effect would be to generate a vast series of new markets on which military and other firms can bid.

**Who are the casualties—the people who would be put out of work?**

Consider that as of 1978 Rockwell had, at its B1-bomber factory outside of Los Angeles, 5000 production workers, 5000 engineers and 4000 administrators. Immediately you know that it's hard to find civilian production that requires one engineer per production worker. So by far the largest number of those engineers would not be needed for an alternative set of products for which those plants are well-suited.

Second, that's a very heavy dose of administrators—one could operate civilian-style with fewer. For those people there will be a problem of retraining, that is, learning skills, whether engineering or administration, appropriate in civilian activities. There would also be a problem of how to move them to places where they might find new employment opportunity. It's of some importance that people who

are long experienced as administrators of military industry become quite expert at the political diplomacy of dealing with the Pentagon. That's a set of techniques that are less important when dealing with Sears Roebuck. Accordingly, new kinds of marketing skills, new kinds of product design capability are required to go civilian.

**Is there any one technical problem standing in the way of conversion?**

No. A competent civilian product, though, requires a rather different approach in the design of the product and the production systems from that of a military product. Military products can be produced at astonishingly high cost. The military wants certain capabilities of an esoteric sort which are expensive to obtain and which require very complex equipment that is very time-consuming to maintain.

If you make a fighter plane that operates at multiples of the speed of sound with its equipment compressed in a very small space, subject to great shock on take-off and landing, you have a dramatically different sort of design problem from, say, that of a trolley car, where there is plenty of space, where you want something that would be durable, reliable and functioning at lower speeds.

The contrast with military aircraft is striking. Military aircraft can suffer large proportions of "down time"—but it's unseen, it's unheard of, it doesn't affect the normal citizen, it takes place behind barbed wire, on military reservations, on aircraft carriers out at sea. And the civilian life goes on well removed from those events.

**You mean there isn't much accountability?**

There isn't much effect in any direct manner. When trolleys break down, there's very much of an effect.

It was of great importance that when an aerospace firm, Boeing, tried to apply what they call aerospace technology and systems management to designing and constructing subway cars and trolley cars, they fell on their faces and produced a disastrous embarrassment for themselves and the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority. They had to get out of the business. They precisely did *not* go through any retraining of the engineering staff. They allowed the designers to over-design, to make things unduly complicated, they did not take into account maintainability.

**Are there any case studies of successful conversion?**

No. We have case studies of what *doesn't* work and that's very important. In moving from military to civilian economy, the most important thing is to have clear agreement that the methods of aerospace and military electronics are inappropriate. ☐



# Backing The Balance Of Terror

**B**elief in deterrence is the principal article of faith in the nuclear age. Having the ability and the will to completely destroy one's enemy, we are repeatedly told by the secular priesthood of the atomic state, is the only thing saving us from eternal damnation. Some openly embrace this doctrine; others squirm at its moral implications; most simply accept it on blind faith. It is our version of Pascal's Wager.

The gospel of deterrence has been propagated, to a large extent, by the American media. From the beginning of the nuclear age, marked by the appropriately named Trinity test in 1945, the press has been in thrall with the wonders of the bomb. It has sung its praises, stood in awe of its powers, and helped justify its ways to man.

As Robert Manoff points out in a provocative paper presented at a recent conference on "War, Peace, and the News Media" at New York University, the pattern was set early on, when *New York Times* science reporter William Laurence was pressed into service by the War Department to write the official news release for the bombing of Hiroshima. Since that moment of original sin, Manoff convincingly argues, the press has allowed itself to be used by the national security state, rarely questioning the fundamental doctrine of deterrence.

Given this sorry record of collusion, it may have come as something of a surprise to watch the media gang up on Ronald Reagan for his so-called "Star Wars" speech of March 23. Over the past year, partly in response to the emerging antinuclear weapons movement, the press has become more aggressive, more heretical in its national security reporting. Even so, the swiftness and severity of the attack on the President's plan to develop a space-age defense against ballistic missiles was stunning.

True, Reagan's speech had its admirers. *Newsweek's* Meg Greenfield, asking "What's wrong with this seemingly reasonable proposal?" urged critics to "try to improve on Reagan's thought, not merely satirize it." The supine *Washington Post* commended the President for "asking an obvious question, one that has moral as well as political dimensions."

But the view of *The New York Times*, that the idea of building a nuclear shield

"remains a pipe dream, a projection of fantasy into policy," was far more characteristic of editorial opinion around the country. The *Chicago Sun-Times* called the President's speech an "appalling disservice to the public's understanding of serious military issues." The *Detroit Free Press* said, "Reagan's vision of a 21st century in which the U.S. will be hermetically sealed against all nuclear attack provides no answer to the problem of how



our national security is to best be addressed now and in the next couple of decades." Even *Time* magazine, not known for its dovish views, warned that "Today's panacea can be tomorrow's poison, especially if the other side is busily filling the same prescription."

Was all this a sign that the press was finally losing faith in deterrence, the official religion of the nuclear state? A closer look at some of the coverage of the President's speech indicates otherwise. The debate over Reagan's "vision of the future" was more of a theological dispute than a declaration of agnosticism.

What most newspaper columnists, television commentators, and editorial writers were most upset about, it turns out, was the potentially destabilizing effect such an anti-ballistic system might have on our posture of deterrence. As Strobe Talbott pointed out in *Time*, "Defensive systems can be every bit as treacherous as the offensive ones they are meant to counter." Why? Because they "would tend to upset the balance of terror and increase the chance of war." In other words, Talbott was saying, let's not forsake deterrence, the doctrine that has supposedly kept the peace for the last four decades, for a new, untested theory of nuclear survival.

Indeed, if Reagan's speech accomplished nothing else, it seems to have inspired a moral regeneration of the deterrence doctrine. (This, as Emma

Rothschild argues in an April 14, 1983, piece in *The New York Review of Books*, is the real agenda of the Reagan administration.) Consider this tribute from an editorial in *The New Republic* criticizing the President's proposal for undermining our policy of mutual assured destruction: "Deterrence is a fragile and difficult theory. It is under increasing attack, but except for those who believe in unilateral disarmament, its critics have yet to offer a plausible alternative." Or this from *The New York Times*: "The threat of devastating retaliation is an awesome cloud over all diplomacy. But as the President also observed, it has worked to prevent nuclear war for four decades." Or this from *Newsweek*: "The doctrine of assured destruction that for better or worse has enabled the superpowers to escape nuclear war for the past 38 years. . . ."

The litany is repeated everywhere, the incantatory effect almost mesmerizing. "Balance of terror," "mutual assured destruction," "devastating retaliation"—the phrases themselves are a deterrent to clear thought, a sure sign that an editorial writer has taken that final leap of faith. Of course, the deterrence theory is impossible to disprove—just as Pascal found it impossible to disprove the existence of God. But does that mean we must embrace it, as most of the press has done? That there is no "plausible alternative," as *The New Republic* proclaims?

Deterrence is an inherently unstable system. Changes in technology and political psychology require that it be constantly expanding. More than preventing war, it has been pushing us inexorably toward one for the past four decades, fueling our hatred of the Soviet Union, locking fear in our souls.

Before leading us sleepwalking into the future, the press would do well to consider these words from Emma Rothschild's recent essay in *The New York Review*: "I do not think there is a great danger in denying the doctrine of deterrence, and in trying to invent a new principle of security for the post-Reagan period: a principle that is founded, instead, on the mutual interest in avoiding nuclear war which has been our, and the Russians', and the world's real protection since Nagasaki. For we are protected, in the end, by the sanity of our leaders. Nothing is more likely to drive them mad than deterrence itself." □



# • RESOURCES •

## NEW BOOKS

**What About The Russians—and Nuclear War**, by Ground Zero (Pocket Books, \$3.95). An excellent layperson's review of Soviet historic, political, economic, and sociocultural elements that have come to form contemporary Soviet society, as well as their influences upon generations of Soviet leadership. Although mainly a political analysis, it does contain a section on Soviet weaponry, military strategy and the problems of verification.

Despite disclaimers that the book "has been written without a particular political perspective or point of view," it does indeed take positions on the effect that Russian tradition and pre-1945 history have had on modern Soviet behavior. According to the authors, the Soviets are genuinely pro-detente and would settle for nuclear parity. The book contains appendices with economic and social data, highlights of the SALT II treaty and comparative data on the arms race.—**B.K.**

**The Wizards of Armageddon**, by Fred Kaplan (Simon & Schuster, \$17.95). A correspondent for the *Boston Globe* (and NUCLEAR TIMES columnist) has written a study of nuclear strategy which details how a small group of RAND Corporation theorists tried to make weapons that are (in the author's opinion) uncontrollable "conform to human proportion." Kaplan calls the RAND effort, which has become official policy, "the stuff of a living dream world."

**Israeli Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980s**, by Shai Feldman (Columbia University Press, \$9.95 paper). A defense analyst at Tel Aviv University concludes that "to maximize the odds of security and peace Israel must adopt a doctrine of explicit strategic nuclear deterrence." In short, if deterrence has prevented the superpowers from going to war, it will surely serve the volatile Middle East as well. By maintaining that more nuclear weapons are better while avoiding discussion of the terrible risks involved in Israel's pursuit of nuclear security, this book exposes the speciousness of arguments favoring deterrence.

**Lobbying for Freedom in the 1980's: A Grassroots Guide to Protecting Your Rights**, edited by Kenneth P. Norwick (Perigee Books, \$6.95 paper). As the title implies, this book focuses on five controversial areas of individual freedom. Norwick, a lawyer and former legislative director for the New York Civil Liberties Union, begins by describing state legislatures and how they work, outlining the forces that influence a legislator's vote, as well as tactics for professional and citizen lobbyists that will help enact or defeat pending legislation. Norwick then turns the floor

over to lobbyists who have worked in the five main areas under discussion: reproductive freedom, women's rights, gay rights, drug laws, and censorship. While legislation concerning nuclear issues is not analyzed *per se*, there are many valuable lessons here for the grass-roots activist interested in the freeze or arms control.

**Seeds of Promise: The First Real Hearings on the Nuclear Arms Freeze** (Brick House Publishing Company, \$9.95). Last September the Federation of American Scientists held two days of hearings on the freeze. Of special interest is the testimony of Dr. Richard L. Garwin, a critic of space weapons, on the need for technical studies to support the call for a verifiable freeze.

## FILMS

**Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break** (17 minutes, \$45 rental from Films Incorporated, 1213 Wilmette, Chicago, IL 60091). Grade school children in New York City describe their fears about nuclear war in their own voices and through their own drawings. A good way to encourage other children to do likewise, and to introduce them to political activism.

## GUIDES & BOOKLETS



**Get Up, Stand Up: A Manual for the Antinuclear Defendant** (\$3 plus postage from the Abalone Alliance Legal Collective, 452 Higuera Street, San Luis Obispo, CA 93401). Written with the demonstrations against the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant in mind, but useful to others working for social change who wish to represent themselves (in the event of arrest on minor charges) and use the courtroom as a forum. The authors emphasize that felony arrests require a lawyer's immediate attention.

**U.S. Defense Policy: Mainstream Views and Nonviolent Alternatives**, by Bob Irwin and Beverly Woodward (\$5.50 from International Seminars on Training for Nonvio-

lent Action, Box 515, Waltham, MA 02254). A set of readings on nonviolent alternatives to military action. Most of the proposals, ranging from civilian-based defense to a world peace guard, are based on Gandhian thought. While the manual will prove useful to groups who want to conduct study sessions or seminars on nonviolence, one drawback is that the set of suggested readings is quite diverse, and no guidelines are provided to judge relative merit.

**A Guide to Political Fasting** (\$1 from Fast for Life, 942 Market Street, Room 710, San Francisco, CA 94102). This booklet includes a brief history of political fasting in the United States and abroad, a list of several dozen hunger strikes (going back to 1774) plus tips on how to organize, and survive, a successful fast. Fast for Life is calling for "A Fast To Stop The Arms Race" beginning on August 6, 1983. You can distribute literature about the fast at screenings of the film *Gandhi*.

**The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Goes International: The United Nations Breakthrough** (\$1 postpaid from World Conference on Religion and Peace, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017). A useful summary of the general debate at the U.N. during the second session on disarmament last June and the adoption of a nuclear freeze resolution in December 1982. Includes a breakdown of how each country voted and excerpts from their remarks.

**Makers of the Cruise and Pershing II** (\$1 each, or \$25 for 100, from NARMIC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102). A recently published, and very useful, guide to cruise and Pershing contractors in the United States.

**Euromissiles** (\$3, plus shipping, from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, MO 63108). A campaign packet compilation of articles and information on U.S., NATO, Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe.

## SPEAKERS' BUREAU

**The Committee on National Security**, chaired by former SALT negotiator Paul Warnke, has set up a bureau with a list of 400 speakers. Lecture topics include the U.S./Soviet balance, the freeze, arms control and disarmament, and the effects of nuclear war. Speakers come from groups such as the Arms Control Association, the Union of Concerned Scientists, Ground Zero, the American Committee on East-West Accord and the Nuclear Freeze Foundation. For more information, contact program director, Jo Husbands, at (202) 833-3140.

—Ann Marie Cunningham



# • CALENDAR •

## NATIONWIDE EVENTS

### PEACE WITH JUSTICE WEEK

This nationwide week of interfaith educational activities, worship and protest on various international and local issues, including peace, arms control, human rights, racism and poverty will take place May 23-30. Its major focus will be "Peace Sabbath," May 27-30, a weekend of worship and witness for peace. The week, initiated by the National Council of Churches (International Affairs, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10015 (212) 870-2200), is co-sponsored by 12 national organizations. The main clearinghouse for "Peace Sabbath" information is the Fellowship of Reconciliation, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

**INTERNATIONAL DAY OF DISARMAMENT** On June 20, peace groups around the world are organizing local actions to resist nuclear arms and power, interventionism, militarism and their social and ecological consequences. Activities include civil disobedience, marches, vigils, teach-ins and religious services. *Contact:* Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Av., Berkeley, CA 94705 (415) 644-3031.

### GREENHAM WOMEN SPEAKING TOUR

Three women from the Greenham Common peace camp in England are extending their speaking tour to the **West Coast** this month, including: San Diego, May 9-10 (*Contact:* (619) 265-0730 or 753-7518); Los Angeles, May 11-12 (*Contact:* (213) 473-9732 or 462-6243); Santa Barbara, May 13 (*Contact:* (805) 685-3404); Seattle, May 16-17 (*Contact:* (206) 324-1489 or 322-1922); the Bay Area, May 16-18 (*Contact:* (415) 731-1220). Other engagements are presently being arranged by the War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

**THE SECOND U.S. EUROPEACE TOUR** Representatives of church and religious groups in Great Britain, Sweden, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands and both East and West Germany will be speaking around the country on a tour sponsored by several U.S. religious organizations in cooperation with the National Council of Churches' International Affairs office. Engagements are presently being arranged by David Funkhauser, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7000.

## MAY 5

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** "Artists on Peace," an exhibit of painting, prints, photography and sculpture related to the themes of peace and war by more than 100 Chicago area artists, through May 29; The Peace Museum, 364 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

### MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Euromissiles conference, with a workshop for organizers followed by a public forum with Rev. Elizabeth Scott, National Council of Churches. *Contact:* Baltimore Clergy and Laity Concerned, 1201 Maple Av, Baltimore, MD 21227 (301) 242-5442.

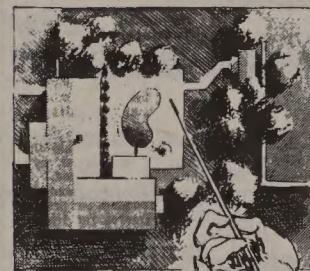
## MAY 6

### COLORADO

• **Colorado Springs** Workshops, "Parenting for Peace and Justice," through May 8. *Contact:* Sharon McCormack, Cornerstone Justice and Peace Center, 940 Emerson, Denver CO 80218 (303) 831-7692.

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Seminar, "Effective Peacemaking for Business and Professional People," with former NATO nuclear war strategist John Graham, through May 7. *Contact:* John Hewitt, (914) 967-6080.



## MAY 7

### CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Conference, "Women and Militarism"; Bishop Conaty High School, 2900 W. Pico. *Contact:* (213) 746-7500.

### ILLINOIS

• **Rockford** Conference, "Religion Proclaims the Challenge of Peace," with Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Dr. Homer Jack and others. *Contact:* Rockford Peace and Justice Action Committee, PO Box 693, Rockford, IL 61105 (815) 654-8488.

### NEW YORK

• **Stony Brook** Conference, "Education in the Nuclear Age," with workshops, films, slides and talks by Gary Mumert, Center for Defense Information, Bob deGraffe, Council on Economic Priorities and others; State Univ. of New York, Stony Brook. *Contact:* Pat Hughes, (516) 732-1843.

### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Charlotte** Euromissile conference, with Howard Morland, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and Ed Glennon, SANE; Covenant Presbyterian Church, Dilworth at Morehead St. *Contact:* Jean Wood, Charlotte SANE, 6334 Deveron Dr. Charlotte, NC 28211 (704) 364-1518.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Conference, "Looking for the Links: Nuclear Weapons and Third World Intervention," with Randall Forsberg, Edward Snyder, Damu Smith, Charito Planas and others; Friends Center, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7230.

## WYOMING

• **Casper** All-day Peace Workshop; Prince of Peace Lutheran Church, 801 S Beverly, Casper, WY 82601 (307) 234-6475.

## MAY 8

On Mother's Day, which was originally conceived of as a day for peace, several groups around the country will be organizing events to advance the cause of peace. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (692 Massachusetts Av, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880) has asked millions of mothers to wear white chrysanthemums to symbolize

support for peace. The Greater Washington Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze (7416 Holly Av, Takoma Park, MD 20912 (202) 585-4896) is sponsoring a vigil of women and children at the White House. For other activities not listed here, *Contact* the local freeze campaign office or chapter of WAND. In **Canada**, mothers and grandmothers are sending photographs of their children to the Reagan and Andropov families. *Contact:* Canadian Disarmament Information Service, 10 Trinity Squ, Toronto, M5B 1B1, Canada.

### ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Film, *In the King of Prussia*, about the Plowshares Eight, followed by talks by the director Emile de Antonio and Plowshares Eight member Molly Rush; Gallagher Theater. *Contact:* Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 445 E 4 St. Tucson, AZ 85705 (602) 623-7951.

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** The first annual Chicago Mother's Day Peace Walk and Festival will assemble at Michigan Av at Wacker Dr and proceed to the Grant Park Bandshell for a variety of entertainment, addresses and information booths. Speakers include Dr. Benjamin Spock. *Contact:* Help End the Arms Race, 343 S. Dearborn, Rm 705, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 663-1227.

### MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Peace gathering, with Dr. Helen Caldicott and others; Boston Children's Museum, Museum Wharf. *Contact:* WAND, 691 Massachusetts Av, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880.

### WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Euromissiles workshop with

Peter Bergel of Citizen Action for Lasting Security and Helena Knapp of the national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. *Contact:* Bruce Kokopeli, (206) 329-3069.

## MAY 10

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Panel discussion, "Role of Health Workers in Helping to Prevent Nuclear War," with Henry Nicholas, national president of Union 1199; Stern Auditorium, Annenberg Plaza, Mt. Sinai Medical Center, 5th Av at 100 St. *Contact:* New York City Physicians for Social Responsibility, 225 Lafayette St, Suite 207, New York, NY 10012 (212) 226-6767.

### WEST COAST

The San Francisco Mime Troupe will be performing *Factwino Versus Armageddon*, a "musical comic strip about a wino turned superhero who makes people think about nuclear holocaust and the nefarious Armageddonman, who is trying to destroy the disarmament movement," in: **Olympia, Washington**—Library, Evergreen State College (May 10); **Seattle, Washington**—Washington Hall Performance Gallery (May 11-15); **San Francisco, California**—The Farm, Army at Potrero St (May 20); **Los Angeles, California**—Fox Venice Theater (May 26-29). *Contact:* San Francisco Mime Troupe, 855 Treat St., San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 285-1717.

## MAY 13

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Concert by Bright Morning Star, to benefit WIN Magazine; Irving High School, 40 Irving Pl. *Contact:* WIN, 326 Livingston St, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (212) 624-8337.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Film, *In the King of Prussia*, about the Plowshares Eight, followed by talks by the director Emile de Antonio and Plowshares Eight member Molly Rush, through May 14; David Lawrence Auditorium, Forbes St, Oakland. *Contact:* Pittsburgh Film-Makers Incorporated, PO Box 7467, Pittsburgh, PA 15213 (412) 681-5449.

## MAY 14

### CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Walkathon, "Step Out for Peace," to raise funds for local peace groups; Golden Gate Park. *Contact:* Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St. San Francisco, CA 942102 (415) 495-0526.

### COLORADO

• **Denver** Seminar on women and militarism, "Patriotism and Peace: U.S. Women's Perspectives"; Montview Presbyterian Church, 1980 Dahlia St. *Contact:* Cornerstone Justice and Peace Center, 940 Emerson, Denver, CO (303) 831-7692.

### MASSACHUSETTS

• **Arlington** National Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament conference, with workshops on organizing political strategies and groups, through May 15; WAND office, 691 Massachusetts Av.



Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880.

## MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** Conference, "The Threat of Nuclear War to Children and Youth," with workshops and talks by Drs. Robert J. Lifton and William Beardsley, Prof. Melvin Small, Phillip Runkle, superintendent of the Michigan Dept. of Education and others. Films and art exhibits will also be shown; General Lecture Auditorium, Wayne State Univ. *Contact:* Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Wayne State Univ. 5229 Cass Av. Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 577-3453, -3468.

## MINNESOTA

• **Mankato** Minnesota State Freeze Conference, with workshops, including Melinda Fine of the Inst. for Defense and Disarmament Studies talking on opposition to the freeze, through May 15; Good Counsel Education Center. *Contact:* Minnesota Freeze Campaign, 2395 University Av No. 310, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616.

## MAY 15

### NEW JERSEY

• **Irlington** New Jersey SANE's 25th anniversary dinner, with talks by Randy Kehler and David Cortright, and presentation of the George Kennan Peace Award to Robert Scheer; The Coronet Caterers. *Contact:* New Jersey SANE, 324 Bloomfield Av. Montclair, NJ 07042 (201) 744-3263.

## MAY 16

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• "You Gotta Have Art," an art and information exhibit on reversing the arms race, through May 27; Rotunda of the Cannon House Office Building on Capitol Hill. *Contact:* Artists for Survival, 144 Moody St. Waltham, MA 02154 (617) 891-4235.

## MAY 18

### NEVADA

• **Las Vegas** Film, *The Atomic Cafe*, with a guest speaker; Flamingo Library. *Contact:* Fran Polk, 925 Sierra Vista No. 306, Las Vegas, NV 89109 (702) 731-1472.

### WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Discussion, "What to Tell Your Children about Nuclear War," with psychiatrists Judith Lipton and John Dunne; Keene Hall, Room 210, Univ. of Washington. *Contact:* Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, 4534 1/2 University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

## MAY 19

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Nuclear Arms: the Economic Realities," with John K. Galbraith, Marion Anderson, David Gold, and a panel of journalists. *Contact:* NUCLEAR TIMES, (212) 563-5940.

## MAY 20

### OHIO

• **Dayton** Conference, "Jobs, Peace and Freedom: Confronting the Nuclear Dilemma," with workshops and a keynote speech by Sen. Julian Bond and others, through May 21; First Baptist Church. *Contact:* Mike Rench, American Friends Service Committee, 915 Salem Av, Dayton, OH 45406 (513) 278-4225.

## MAY 21

### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Durham** Sixth anniversary dinner and auction for War Resisters League/Southeast. *Contact:* WRL/SE, 604 W Chapel Hill St. Durham, NC 27701 (919) 682-6374.

### OREGON

• **Statewide** During "Stop PUREX Weekend," through 22, the regional Fellowship of Reconciliation is calling for simultaneous actions throughout the state against ongoing plutonium production in Hanford, Washington. **Portland** activities include a candlelight vigil in Terry Shunk Park and a rally at the Bonneville Power Administration Building on 1002 NE Holladay. *Contact:* FOR, 1838 SW Jefferson, Portland, OR 97201 (503) 222-7293.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **St. Mary's** Northwestern Pennsylvania regional skills workshops for beginning and experienced activists promoting a nuclear freeze. Topics include public speaking, fundraising, political action and media; must register by May 14. *Contact:* Pennsylvania Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 900 S Arlington Av, Harrisburg, PA 17109 (717) 545-1710.

## MAY 22

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• National religious Pentecost service for peace with a prayerful public witness service and civil disobedience on May 23; U.S. Capitol Building. *Contact:* Sojourners Peace Ministry, P.O. Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017 (202) 636-3637.

• First day of a 1600 mile pilgrimage from the Pentagon that will conclude August 6 at the Pantex nuclear weapons plant in Amarillo, Texas. Donations collected along the way will be given to the Solidarity Peace Fund, which provides social services to workers who resign from Pantex for reasons of conscience. *Contact:* The Plowshares Pilgrimage, 110 Earl Hall, Columbia Univ., New York, NY 10027.

### NEBRASKA

• **Statewide** Peace Walk fundraisers in cities throughout the state, with a central rally at the statehouse in Lincoln. *Contact:* Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 333 N 14 St. Lincoln, NE 68508 (402) 475-4258.

### NEW YORK

• **Buffalo** Western New York Peace Week, through May 28, including: Peace Jubilee, May 22 on the campus of Erie Community College, 121 Ellicott St (*Contact:* Rev. Richard Hemann, 30 Erie Av. Gowanda, NY); Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament workshop on nuclear arms, May 24 at Mt. St. Joseph's Academy, Main St. (*Contact:* Western New York Peace Center, 440 Leroy Av. Buffalo, NY 14215 (716) 835-4073); school displays throughout the area (*Contact:* Pauline Petruzzella, RSM, 2278 Main St. Buffalo, NY 14214 (716) 838-4910); Interfaith World Peace Celebration, May 26 at St. Paul's Cathedral, Main St at Cathedral Park; Peace Walk and Rally, May 28 (*Contact:* Interfaith Peace Coalition, 100 Wadsworth, Buffalo, NY 14201 (716) 883-7717.)

### TEXAS

• **Austin** Conference, "The Church and the Bomb: Faith in the Nuclear Age,"

with Father Robert Drinan, Dr. James Forbes and Dr. Lloyd Dumas, through May 23; University United Methodist Church. *Contact:* Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, 1022 W 6 St. Austin, TX 78703. Hib Sabin: (512) 472-9044.

## MAY 25

### CALIFORNIA

• **Pasadena** Conference, "The Church and Peacemaking in the Nuclear Age," with Jim Wallis of Sojourners, among others, through May 28; First United Methodist Church, 500 E. Colorado. *Contact:* 1539 E. Howard St. Pasadena, CA 91104 (213) 797-4463.

**Pasadena** Antinuclear weapons film festival, including *Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break*, *Gods of Metal*, *If You Love This Planet*, *Race to Oblivion*, *In The King of Prussia* and others: Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N. Euclid, Pasadena, CA 91109 (213) 449-9430.

## MAY 27

### CALIFORNIA

• **Oakland** Seventh Annual United Nations Reform Convention, with Norman Cousins, former presidential candidate John Anderson and former congressman Paul McCloskey, Jr., through May 29. With programs on disarmament, nuclear arm control and negotiations, peace movements and the Middle East; Lake Merritt Hotel, 1800 Madison St. *Contact:* Campaign for U.N. Reform, 600 Valley Rd, Wayne, NJ 07470 (201) 694-6333.

## JUNE 1

### OHIO

• **Columbus** Ohio State Freeze Lobbying Day to lobby members of the state legislature to pass a freeze resolution; statehouse. *Contact:* Sarah Kirschenbaum, Reverse the Arms Race Federation/Ohio Freeze Campaign, 584 W. Broad, Columbus, OH 43215 (614) 253-7867.

## JUNE 2

### NEW JERSEY

• **Princeton** Talk on the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter by Bishop Thomas Gumbleton; St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church. *Contact:* Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, 40 Witherspoon St. Princeton, NJ 08540 (609) 924-5022.

## JUNE 3

### TENNESSEE

• **Nashville** Conference, "The Arms Race vs. Human Needs: A Dialogue on Jobs, Peace and Justice," through June 4; Race Relations Institute, Fisk Univ. *Contact:* Manning Marable, (615) 329-8577.

## JUNE 6

### SOUTH DAKOTA

• **Statewide** Julie Loesch, national coordinator of Prolifers for Survival, will be giving a series of talks, "Nukes and the Next Generation," through June 12. *Contact:* Carolyn Osborne, (605) 331-5819.

## JUNE 7

### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Charlotte** Peace forum; Myers Park Baptist Church, 1900 Queens Rd, Con-

tact: Rev. Arthur Korthauer, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 224 Providence Rd., Charlotte, NC 28207 (704) 376-8441.

## JUNE 9

### CANADA

• **Montreal** World Federalists Conference '83, including seminars on education for a global society, the illegality of nuclear arms and disarmament and development in the 1980s, through June 12; Loyola Campus, Concordia Univ. *Contact:* World Federalists, Suite 32, 46 Elgin St. Ottawa K1P 5K6, Canada.

## JUNE 11

### COLORADO

• **Fort Collins** Entry deadline for "Art of Peace '83," a juried show of literary, performing and visual peace artwork (June 18-July 9). Open to all artists over 16; entry fee is \$5, \$1000 in prizes will be awarded. For prospectus, send SASE to Dan Feldman, 628 Laporte Av. Ft. Collins, CO 80521 (303) 484-2268.

### NEW MEXICO

• **Albuquerque** The Kirtland Air Force Base, Sandia Labs, a site of nuclear weapons research and development, and the Air Force Weapons Laboratory, where laser and particle beam weapons research is done will be the focus of protest and educational activities, through June 20, including rallies, forums, workshops, marches, a film festival, poster exhibits and spiritual services. On June 20, there will be a civil disobedience action at Kirtland AFB. *Contact:* Citizens Against Nuclear Threats, 106 Girard SE, Room 121-C, Albuquerque, NM 87106 (505) 268-9557, or Kent Zook, (505) 842-6093.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Johnstown** Southwestern Pennsylvania workshops for beginning and experienced activists promoting the freeze. See **May 21**, Pennsylvania.

## JUNE 12

### CALIFORNIA

• **Hollywood** 5th Annual Survival Sunday Concert; Hollywood Bowl. *Contact:* Southern California Alliance for Survival, 1503 North Hobart Blvd., Hollywood, CA 90027 (213) 462-6243.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Preliminary attempt of "Hands in Peace," which eventually hopes to have over five million people link hands in an unbroken line from Washington, D.C. to San Francisco. *Contact:* Academy for Peace Research, Center Hill Rd, Plymouth, MA 02360 (617) 224-3696.

## JUNE 15

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Haverford** National Women's International League for Peace and Freedom biennial open meeting, "Women United in Action for Peace," through June 19. *Contact:* WILPF, 1213 Race St. Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

*Thanks to everyone who mailed us information for the Calendar. The deadline for submitting June events is May 4.*

**Compiled by Walter Lew  
with Renata Rizzo**



# • COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD •

## ACTION

**Charlotte NC Clergy & Laity Concerned** meets 1st Tuesday each month, noon, Myers Park Baptist, 1900 Queens Rd. Peace Forum. Contact: Rev. Art Kortheuer (704) 376-8441

**TEMENOS** is a small renewal center in Western Massachusetts concerned with the personal resources and the modes of spiritual support (particularly Quaker and Buddhist) for social change action. Workshops for 1983 Summer include Dancing to Save the Planet; Archetypes of War and Apocalypse; Tears of Earth. Write for information to *Temenos, Star Route, Shutesbury, MA. 01072*

**DISARMAMENT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND TEACHERS** STOP Nuclear War, a national network of high school students and teachers, will sponsor a 3 1/2 day Leadership Conference August 17-20, in Northfield, MA, for students and teachers seeking to deepen their involvement in disarmament work. Participants will build skills in peace organizing in schools and houses of worship. STOP will pay travel and conference expenses for the 15 people invited to attend. We seek geographical, racial, and socio-economic diversity. We invite peace, religious, and educational organizations to nominate qualified young people. For application, write STOP, Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360. Deadline for completed applications is June 1.

## NUCLEAR ARMS: THE ECONOMIC REALITIES

Forum featuring John K. Galbraith, David Gold, Marion Anderson and a panel of distinguished journalists, including Barbara Tuchman. The forum will be held on May 19 at the Essex Hotel Ballroom, 160 Central Park so., will begin promptly at 5:30 PM. Please come early, first-come-first-served. Contact (212) 563-5940.

## HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI PEACE PILGRIMAGE

Peace activists from around the world will gather in Hiroshima and Nagasaki Aug. 6-9. Join us in a profound political and personal experience in Japan this summer.

Sixty day open return. \$1750 from West Coast. Some scholarships available. Peace Pilgrimage/Grassroots tours, 1346 Connecticut Ave NW #533, Washington, DC 20036 • (202) 293-6949.

## WORK FOR PEACE VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

in over 20 countries (including Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.) for international peace workcamps. Please contact: *Volunteers for Peace, Inc., Belmont, Vermont 05730, (802) 259-2759*

## PEACE-BUILDING, PIECE BY PIECE

The 12th legislative seminar of NETWORK, the Catholic social justice lobbying group, will focus on political organizing, justice, economics, and faith; June 12-18. Includes talks by senators, representatives and lobbyists. Cost \$350. CONTACT: *NETWORK, 806 Rhode Island Av NE, Washington DC 20018 (202) 526-4070.*

## GOOD READING

### FREE BOOK CATALOGUE:

social change, feminism, men's consciousness-raising, gay. *Times Change Press; Albion-N, CA 95410.*

**Concerned about the administration's Civil Defense plans?** Subscribe to the **FRONT LINE** newsletter; contains news on Civil Defense from across the US, developments in Washington, reviews, interviews, resources, etc. \$12/year for 6 issues. *New Century Policies Educational Programs Inc. P.O. Box 2715 Boston, MA 02208*

**SUPERB NEW ORGANIZING TOOL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PEACE & PATRIOTISM** is a powerful new photo brochure carrying the message: peace is patriotic. Quotes from Dwight Eisenhower, Gerald Ford, Douglas MacArthur and other public figures. This brochure is ideal for organizing, community education, answering skeptics. Order in large quantities for the best price and your own message and logo imprinted on the back. Free sample available upon request. *The Forum Institute, 1225 15th St. NW, Washington DC 20005.*

## The Arms Race and the Paper Chase.

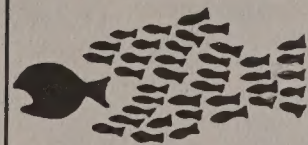
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**Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N. Euclid Ave., Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 449-9430.**

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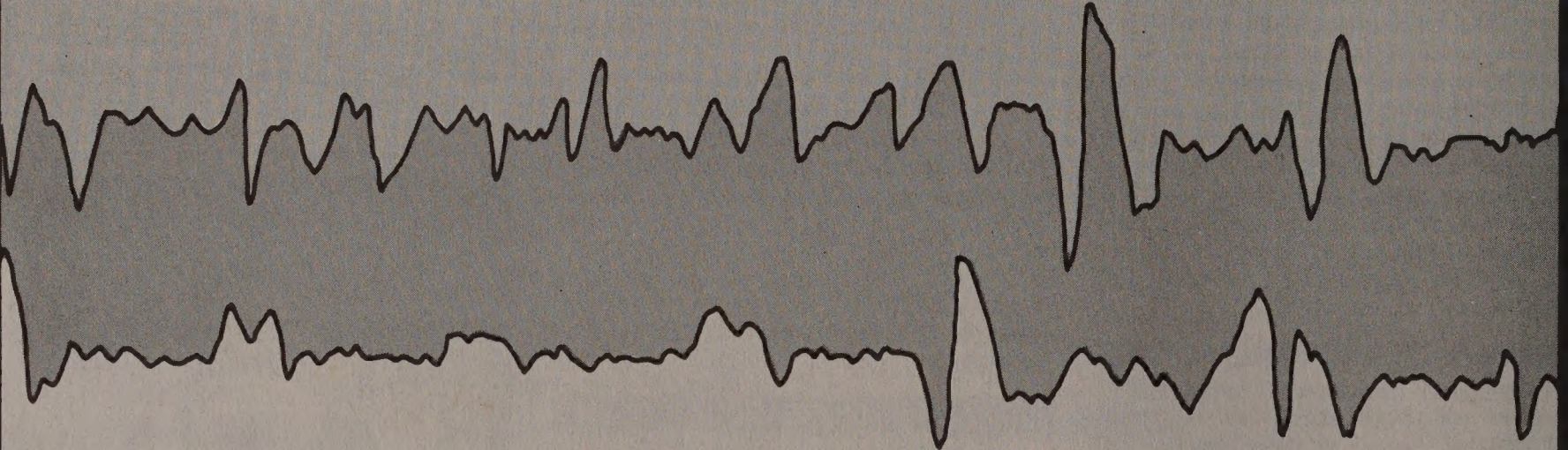
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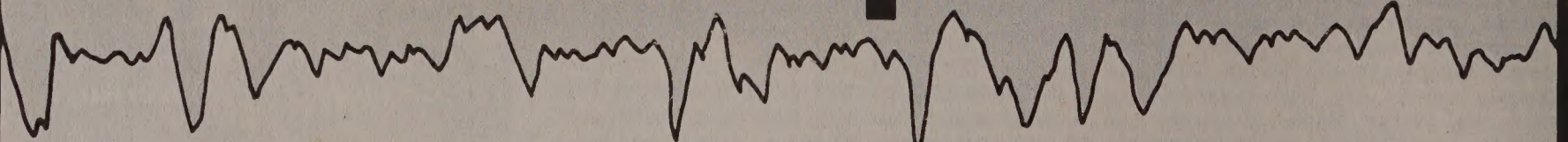
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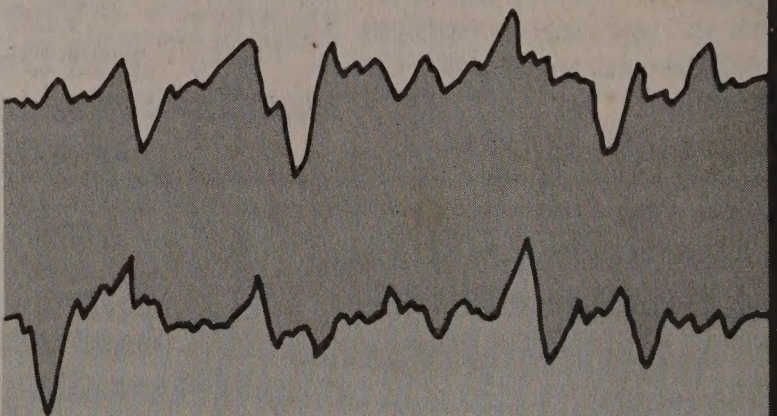
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